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INSIDE STORY FROM PARIS

VYSHINSKY'S FUTURE

MORE ON THE GROMYKO PLAN

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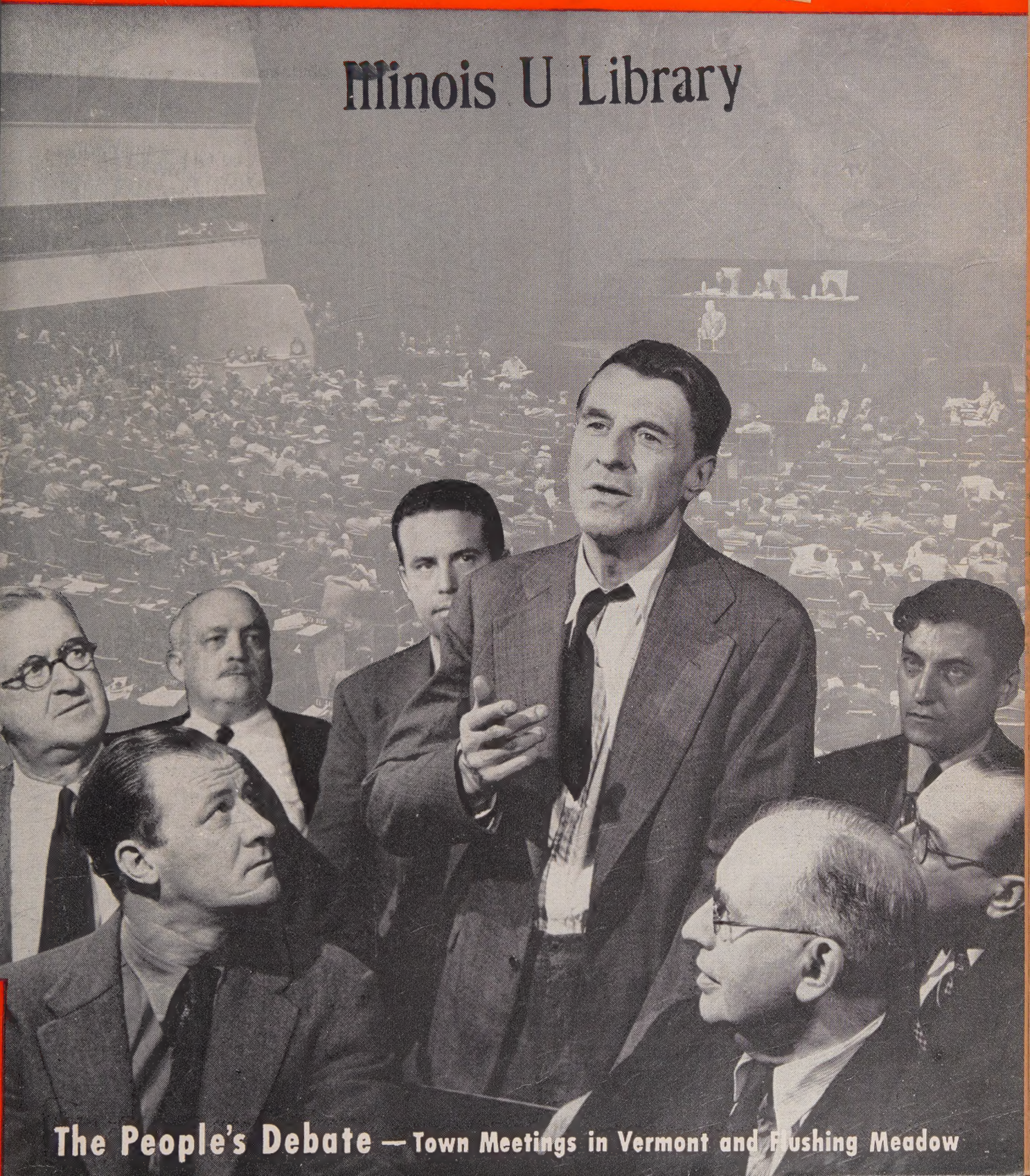

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From UNW's Editorial Workshop

No one in the UNW editorial boardroom seemed particularly surprised when Editor-in-Chief Louis Dolivet suddenly announced that he felt another spell of wanderlust slowly creeping up on him. Seven times during the past 12 months he had flown to Europe.

But this time his wanderlust appeared to have an unusual meaning and urgency. His destination was to be Vienna. Pointing to the giant map of Europe on the wall of his office, Dolivet said: "There in Vienna relations between East and West will take their first turn for the better."

No one in the UNW editorial boardroom was particularly surprised when 48 hours later Louis Dolivet was on an Air France *Constellation* flying to Vienna. That was on May 11. On May 14, he was sitting in President Karl Renner's private study.

From Vienna, Dolivet flew to Zurich and Berne; then on to Paris; finally to London—then back to New York. His report on this trip appears in this issue of UNW (pages 11-14), almost simultaneously with President Truman's announcement that East and West agreed to write a peace treaty for Austria.

* * *

In our March 1948 issue, World Business Editor Herbert Harris published his now famous article "Don't Count on a US Depression." It was the definitive answer to depression-mongers both here and abroad who predicted The Slump with the self-assurance of Old Moore. Now it can be told that some of these skeptics were here in this Editorial Workshop. They warned oracle Harris with the words of James Russell Lowell: *"Don't never prophesy —onless ye know."*

Harris knew. His prognosis has since been echoed by pundits all over the world, copied by Wall Street soothsayers, borrowed by professional Washington geomancers. It even caused a minor purge in Moscow.

In this issue (pages 36-41), UNW publishes what amounts to the official interpretation of the Harris thesis by the man most qualified to write it. Leon H. Keyserling, vice chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, drafted a "Strategy for a Depression-Proof America" which UNW is proud to print.

* * *

Labor diplomacy is a brand new phenomenon in international relations but it has already acquired an outstanding ambassador. He is, of course, CIO President Philip Murray—a diplomat *par excellence.*

When UNW planned a report on the cold war within the controversial World Federation of Trade Unions, it turned over the assignment to Mr. Murray. His article (pages 24-27) is written in the typical Murray manner: constructively. Confirming CIO's withdrawal from the WFTU, he announces the formation of free Labor's new world union.

* * *

A few months ago, Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias made a significant contribution to the solution of "The Forrestal Enigma." If you turn back to the March 1949 issue of UNW, you'll find Zacharias writing:

"One of the most powerful experiences in the life of James Forrestal . . . occurred on February 26, 1945 . . . [when] he watched the climax of the battle of Iwo Jima.

"After this brutal shock, his mind was not again to be free of its effect . . . Those who were close to Forrestal in those winter days of 1945 found him somewhat moody, fretful, with a quiet, deep-buried wrath burning within him."

Subsequent events gave tragic poignancy to the remarkable Zacharias analysis. In this issue, (pages 15-18) UNW publishes the first comprehensive case history of Mr. Forrestal's fatal illness in an article which Senior Editor Ladislas Farago wrote in cooperation with ten eminent medical scientists.

* * *

World-wide debate continues about the Gromyko Plan which UNW revealed last month.

UNW is told that Mr. Gromyko's star is still rising in the Moscow sky. But what is happening to Mr. Molotov? The August issue will tell.

V. X. MADISON

UNITED NATIONS WORLD, July 1949, Vol. 3, No. 7. Published monthly by U.N. World, Inc, 510 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. Entered as second class matter August 2, 1948, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Price: 35 cents a copy, $4.00 for one year, $7.00 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign postage outside US possessions, Western Hemisphere and Spain, $1.00 a year. Printed in the U.S.A.
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THE COVER

Silhouetted against the background of a General Assembly plenary session, participants in a Vermont Town Meeting symbolize humanity's striving for life's eternal goal: Peace.

United Nations
WORLD *Magazine*

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A UN World Exclusive on the Soviet Union's latest quest for a more successful foreign policy

- Vyshinsky reveals frustration, plans to quit
- Schuman discourages Soviet overtures
- Acheson scores in diplomatic duel
- Gromyko Plan still puzzles West
- Rockefeller paged for State Department

IN THIS issue, UNITED NATIONS WORLD Magazine continues its coverage of international trends, expands its exposition of behind-the-scenes developments, and its processing of exclusive information into forecasts of what is to come. In accord with UNW's editorial formula, personal prejudices, friendships, loyalties cannot be allowed to color report or analysis. The authentic and the authoritative remain ruling considerations. In dealing with questions that affect the future of mankind, no margin for error can be permitted to intrude.

Readers must be confident that, if they read it in UNITED NATIONS WORLD, it is so, or it will be so—as soon as circumstances can catch up with foreknowledge. This is the editorial standard to which UNITED NATIONS WORLD strives to conform, the more particularly since its Editors are acutely aware of the high responsibilities which are inseparable from their efforts to pioneer in a new form of diplomatic journalism—a task of considerable challenge.

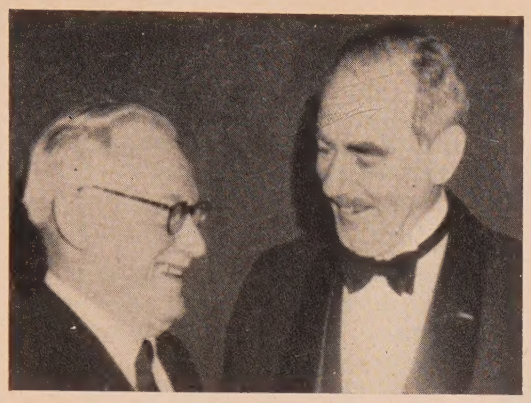
That this approach is not without value would seem to be confirmed by the record of UNW predictions dating back to 1947. Then, at a time when the world expected the opposite, it prophesied that the sweep of Communism through Western Europe would be arrested and turned back. A few months later, UNW recorded the first seismic rumblings of conflict within the Soviet orbit. When the Tito-Cominform break occurred, a year ago, UNW labeled it the beginning of international Titoism and predicted the finality of the break between the Kremlin and Marshal Tito's Belgrade.

Last month UNW explained the genesis of the new Russian foreign policy toward the West—and its new feelers toward rapprochement—in the article "What Gromyko Told Stalin." This month, on page 7, it reports on the campaign of US industrial leaders for continuation of Russo-American trade relations.

Inside Story of Paris Conference

THE "qualified failure" of the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers was due to:

- The unqualified failure of Andrei Yanuarovich Vyshinsky in his first crucial test as Soviet Foreign Minister.
- Stalin's refusal to change the USSR's *short-range* foreign policy at Vyshinsky's urging.
- Continued indecision within the Politburo as to the Soviet Union's *long-range* foreign policy.



Vyshinsky and Acheson at the June 4 dinner

Vyshinsky's surprising diplomatic miscarriage shattered his prestige with the Politburo. Between May 20, the date of his departure for the Conference, and June 20, when the Conference adjourned, he descended from the zenith to the nadir of his standing.

Word of this startling development reaches UNITED NATIONS WORLD magazine from the most authoritative diplomatic sources. Confirmation is provided by two significant incidents:

1. Vyshinsky, eager to have Stalin act as his pilot when the US-UK-French diplomats thwarted his early optimism, failed to get through to the Soviet Premier by phone, despite frantic round-the-clock efforts.

2. On June 4, at a small and private dinner where Secretary of State Acheson was present, Vyshinsky's customary aplomb was observed to be conspicuously displaced by uncertainty and anxiety. He conveyed the distinct impression that he was dissatisfied with his own performance in the diplomatic sphere and stated, in so many words, that he would prefer to devote his energies to his lifetime vocation—jurisprudence.

When the Soviet delegation arrived in Paris, it expected to receive a much more cordial welcome from the Western powers than at any previous conference since the cold war began.

Mr. Vyshinsky was encouraged in this expectation by a series of intelligence reports on the West. Among them were:

- The information from USSR's Ambassador to France Alexander Bogomolov that there was dissension among the eight principal Marshall-Plan countries, consisting particularly of an apparently unbridgeable difference between Britain and the other European countries over the British bilateral trade pacts with South American, Commonwealth and Eastern European nations.
- Admission by Great Britain, which had oriented her whole economic activity toward a greater volume of exports, that the world market was getting tighter and thus all—or part—of England's privations might have been endured in vain.
- News from Western Germany during the first week of the Conference of rising unemployment in the Western zone.
- The exciting information of the break in the stock market in New York.

On the basis of these reports, Mr. Vyshinsky reported home an estimate of the situation which in effect was as follows:

"The representatives of the three Western powers sitting opposite me at the Conference table are not willing to make any substantial concessions. The only thing they offer to do is to accept the Bonn constitution as a foundation for the future Germany, while completely eliminating the Peoples Congress of Berlin, in which the [Communist-controlled] United Socialist Party has preponderance. I believe the Western Powers are bluffing. The economic news from England, the sharpening differences between England and the other European countries, the financial news from the US and the rising unemployment in Western Germany, all justify a tougher attitude on the part of the Soviet delegation."

Insofar as Berlin was concerned, the Soviet delegation came to Paris to translate into more concrete terms the Jessup-Malik agreement of May 4, 1949. According to Soviet interpretation, the situation in Berlin was to be re-established as it existed before June 26, 1948, the beginning of the Berlin blockade. Up to that date, there had been a gentleman's agreement on free access to Berlin and a written treaty on trade exchanges between the four zones.

Mr. Vyshinsky soon discovered that the interpretation of the Western powers of the Jessup-Malik arrangement was quite different. What the West expected was a permanent written guarantee on free access to Berlin, and a progressive increase by gentleman's agreement of trade between the Soviet and Western zones of Germany. The Western powers, despite temporary setbacks, were in no mood to restore a frangible oral agreement on Berlin or to make any compromise on Germany that might result in the absorption of that vital country by pro-Soviet forces.

There ensued the rapid disintegration of Vyshinsky's prefabricated strategy. But when he began to bombard Moscow for new instructions, he found the phone to Stalin's inner sanctum strangely dead.

The only clear directive Vyshinsky could get from Moscow beyond reaffirmation of his original instructions was that, under no circumstances must there be a rupture in the re-established system of Four Power consultations; that the issues of Germany and Austria be kept open until further notice; and that groundwork should be laid for the convocation of a new conference, to take place *before* the UN General Assembly meets on September 20, 1949.

Failing to receive a directive adapted to the changed conditions in Paris, Vyshinsky started to do his

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State of the World *continued*

bidding with the most valuable trumps of his original Moscow-shuffled hand:

■ For the first time since Russia's break with Tito last June, he sided with the West against Yugoslavia and disapproved the latter's territorial demands on Austria.

■ He agreed to other Western conditions on the Austrian peace treaty.

■ He refrained from playing the old propaganda record about "unified Germany" and "the termination of Allied occupation."

More important, however, was a tactical move for which he had top-secret authorization from the Kremlin. Originally this move was probably designed as a sincere Soviet effort for a continental *détente*, but in Vyshinsky's desperate hand, it became a maneuver of the most delicate nature. He tried to use it to loosen the West's close unity by driving a wedge between France and her Western partners.

In deepest secrecy, and using the most circumspect diplomatic language, Mr. Vyshinsky hinted to Foreign Minister Schuman that the USSR would welcome a Franco-Russian pact not unlike the 1935 accord concluded between Pierre Laval and Joseph Stalin.

The veiled invitation of the Soviet Foreign Minister dealt mainly with a readiness to dissociate the Soviet Union as sharply as possible from the activities of the French Communist Party inside France, as against a promise by France to vote, from time to time at least, with the Russians in the Four Minister Conference.

Since the offer was never explicitly made, Foreign Minister Schuman never had a chance to reject it outright. But from the start, and before Mr. Vyshinsky even had a chance to make a definite proposal, Mr. Schuman left no doubt that France, because of her close tie-ups with the American Government, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the Western Union, could in no circumstance consider any proposal that would dissociate her from her principal allies.

Mr. Vyshinsky's open invitation to France — which never came — was apparently to have been so timed as to be a major surprise. Russian secrecy was so complete that no even French Ambassador Yves Chataigneau, who had left his post in Moscow to attend the Conference was apprised of the proposal.

The most interesting event of the Conference itself was the emergence of the American delegation as the winning team in the East-West duel. While in previous meetings the Americans had taken several beatings at the hands of Vyshinsky at Paris, Mr. Acheson, skilfully aided by Dr. Philip C. Jessup and John Foster Dulles, presented such flawless juridical and logical arguments that the Soviet Foreign Minister was beaten at his own game.

Mr. Vyshinsky at first made several attempts to counter the crystal clear, sharp-as-steel argumentation of Mr. Acheson, who throughout the whole Conference followed the method of a brilliant lawyer in presenting his case before the court. But it soon became evident that Vyshinsky had found a master, not only in the art of putting forward a powerful, coherent policy concept—as Acheson did in his initial speech—but, more importantly, in the infinitely more difficult art of rapid-fire, question-and-answer exchange at the conference table.

French Foreign Minister Schuman was elated by Mr. Acheson's brilliance, and commented several times to his associates, with great pride and pleasure, on the difference between this conference and past ones.

British Foreign Secretary Bevin, who was beset by problems of his own Labor Party (revealed during the Blackpool conference) as well as his own troubles within the Western Union, looked on while the American Secretary of State made use of all the arguments Bevin would have liked to use against the Russians.

Diagnosis:

In the light of all that transpired, both on and behind the stage of the Four Power Conference, diplomats concede off the record that it was an infinitely greater success than the limited area of agreement and the official communiques indicate. The late Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia once said that the West could always get agreement from Russia by the

simple method of "meeting the USSR a little more than half way." The Paris Conference taught the Kremlin the vital lesson that times have changed and that today, to gain rapprochement with the West, the USSR must go beyond the halfway mark in compromise, concession and conciliation.

This lesson cannot fail to strengthen the hands of those within the USSR who believe with Andrei A. Gromyko that the time has come for the introduction of a long-range policy of honest co-operation with the West in which Stalin's favorite concept of "co-existence" can become a reality, East-West trade restored, and the territorial (and even ideological) status quo of the world preserved.

Prognosis:

The 72 days between the adjournment of the Paris Conference and the convocation of the Foreign Ministers' next meeting will be used by all Soviet political analysts to translate the lessons of Paris into practical diplomatic action.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD is advised by the Western world's best judges of Soviet Russia that at the September conference the USSR will meet all Western demands "a little more than halfway"; that agreement will be reached on all basic issues, including an Austrian peace treaty and a new status for Germany; that the practical application of the so-called Gromyko Plan for East-West rapprochement will become evident to all, including the skeptics who now discount the possibility.

Gromyko and US Businessmen

THE revelation that Andrei A. Gromyko's now famous Plan was presented to the Politburo after prolonged conversations with leading members of the American business community (UNW, June) called world-wide attention to the inevitable dualism in the conduct of foreign affairs in a democracy like the US.

The fact is that important representatives of the American business world disagreed with the State Department's policy of using East-West trade as a lever in Russo-American

Continued on next page

Sternist Invasion of Eastern Europe

ON JUNE 22, "somewhere in Italy," the executive action committee of the Stern Group, outlawed Palestinian terrorists and the world's most ruthless and efficient underground force, addressed a warning to leaders in the Soviet orbit, threatening to parachute 200 trigger-men into Eastern Europe with orders to assassinate:

- **Communist officials responsible for stoppage of Jewish emigration.**
- **Communist propagandists responsible for the revived anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in the Communist areas.**
- **"Collaborationist" Jews who support the new anti-Jewish moves.**
- **Top leaders in Hungary, Romania, Poland and even within the USSR should preliminary killings not reverse present policy.**

This marks two changes in Sternism. The first is the shift of its GHQ to Europe to avoid compromising the Israeli government but also to escape its efficient secret police. The second is that, according to the June 22 declaration, "Britain has ceased to be the enemy."

The Sternists moved with such speed that next day one man on the new Sternist blacklist received a warning letter. He was Vice Premier Ernö Gerö of Hungary, himself a Jew.

Prognosis:

The introduction of open anti-Government terrorism into Eastern Europe marks a development the potentials of which are difficult to exaggerate. The first Sternist killing can precipitate a chain reaction of assassinations by anti-Communists hitherto intimidated into inactivity. It can also result in a government terror in which strangers, Jews, suspects of all sorts, would suffer; and possible mass retaliation in the form of pogroms.

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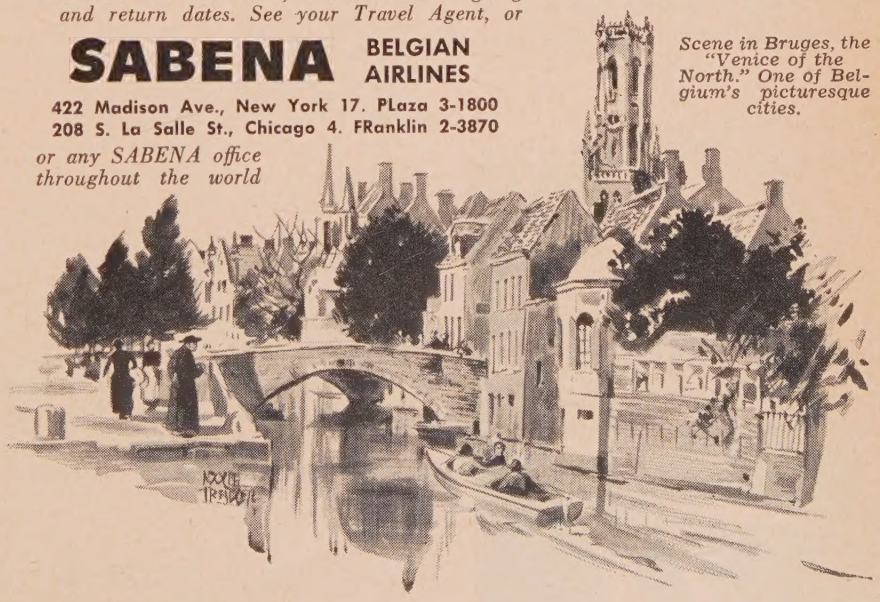

Scene in Bruges, the "Venice of the North." One of Belgium's picturesque cities.

State of the World *continued*

diplomacy. However, it must be pointed out that equally important groups fully endorsed the "X-Plan" of George F. Kennan to contain the USSR by economic as well as by political and military means.

■ The opposition of the first group to the US government's Russian policy was voiced first in 1946, by one of America's topmost financiers in a conference in the State Department, specially called at his request to survey the future of Russo-American relations.

■ It was further demonstrated in the establishment in New York of at least two *ad hoc* committees devoted solely to the promotion of East-West trade as a means of improving Russo-American relations. The membership rosters of these committees contained some of the most important names of US business and industry.

■ It was further demonstrated when the distinguished New York Chamber of Commerce, upon the initiative of Peter Grimm, Chairman of the Board of William A. White and Sons, famous real-estate firm, invited former Consul General Jakob Lomakin and later Ambassador Gromyko himself to explain Soviet policies to a select gathering of American businessmen.

■ It was most explicitly demonstrated in a strange trade journal called *American Engineering and Industry*, described as a "technical monthly in the Russian language circulated in the Soviet Union . . . devoted to the promotion of closer technical and trade relations between the United States and the Soviet Union." The journal was published at 210 Madison Avenue, New York 16, by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, the American outlet of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Foreign Trade, but was circulated exclusively in the USSR.

■ The December, 1947, issue of this Soviet publication carried 43 full pages of advertisements paid for by leading industrial firms of the US that wanted to do business with Russia. In the year 1947, though the cold war was already intense, no less than 82 major American firms used advertising in *American Engineering and Industry* as a means of assuring uninterrupted business with the USSR. They included Allis-Chalmers, Bethlehem Steel, Fruehauf Trailers, Ingersoll-Rand, Pratt & Whitney, Warner & Swasey, Westinghouse and others.

■ Even in 1948, at the absolute height of the cold war, 23 major American firms, including Baush Machine Tools, Gardner - Denver, Clark Brothers, Fairbanks, Morse & Co., and others, persisted in this export policy; 12 of them continued their advertising in *American Engineering and Industry* to the end of 1948 when, upon orders from Moscow, it suspended publication.

The State Department was fully aware of these trends in the American business world. Though it made several efforts to discourage them, it never questioned the complete patriotism of those leaders who advocated continued business with Russia. Neither did it ever altogether succumb to the occasionally strong pressure of opposing groups who advocated complete severance of Russo-American trade relations.

The question of war-essential supplies going to the USSR (as US scrap iron went to Japan virtually up to the date of Pearl Harbor) has been carefully examined by the various groups favoring continued trade with Russia. The opinion of the majority is that American industrialists, of their own accord, should refuse to supply material for the Russian war potential—a decision frankly conveyed to Mr. Gromyko by American callers a few weeks ago in New York.

Gromyko assured his American guests that the USSR appreciated their dilemma and would, for the time being, confine its to-be-revitalized trade with the US to non-military supplies. At this very moment Amtorg has instructions to implement Gromyko's assurance by purchasing several million dollars worth of laundry machinery, the first volume purchase by Amtorg in more than a year.

* * *

UNITED NATIONS WORLD Magazine will continue its reports on Mr. Gromyko's negotiations in the United States in future issues. The August issue will reprint the transcript of a memorandum which one of his American conference partners dictated 15 minutes after he left the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister's office on Park Avenue, on the subjects of their conversation, including Premier Stalin's conditions for a Russo-American rapprochement in political and military terms.

BALLET RUSSE

Elseviers Weekblad, Amsterdam

The Afternoon of a Faun: New dancers—but the same dance.

Rockefeller paged by Latinos

THE state of the Latin American world is causing profound concern among the sober and informed advocates of hemispheric co-operation.

One of America's foremost business leaders with vast holdings in Central America and with an insight acquired from 35 years of dealing with dictators and democrats in Latin America as a whole, has prepared the following evaluation of the current situation for UNITED NATIONS WORLD magazine:

1. In terms of the trend toward dictatorship, things are likely to get far worse before they get any better. Chile and Guatemala alike will probably fall as bulwarks of Latin American democracy. In the end, only Colombia and Uruguay will remain as beach-heads of the democratic idea south of the Rio Grande.

2. The decline of the economic situation has reached catastrophic proportions without active and constructive intervention by the United States either to arrest downward trends or to lay the groundwork for

new industrial development.

3. The most grievous political conditions prevail in Costa Rica which has contrived to masquerade its own tyranny and corruption by posing as a sworn foe of Nicaragua.

4. Latin American solidarity was dealt a severe blow when such non-Hemispheric issues as Spain's admission to the UN, the recognition of the State of Israel, and the condemnation of Cardinal Mindszenty's trial were injected into inter-American relations.

5. The gradual decline of the influence once exerted by the State Department's Office of American Republics Affairs is at least partly responsible for the reversion of various Latin American states toward dictatorial regimes. With the departure of Nelson Rockefeller, Spruille Braden and Ellis O. Briggs from this Office, once the most important within the State Department, US policy in and toward Latin America has become vague, contradictory and ineffective. Its influence today is virtually non-existent.

According to UNW's informant, "only Nelson Rockefeller's return to the State Department as Under-Secretary of State in charge of Latin American Affairs could restore that measure of harmony and stability without which all the benefits of the Roosevelt-Hull-Welles Good Neighbor Policy will be irreparably lost."

From the US point of view this loss would be a major economic and diplomatic disaster. It would choke off some of the most reliable markets for American manufacturers and stifle new investment opportunities. It would deprive both US military and industry of strategic raw materials.

Diplomatically any such development would upset to an alarming extent the gains the US has scored in Europe. Some dictatorship governments in Latin America are preparing for the day when they swing a sufficient number of votes in the American bloc into coalitions with other similarly oriented groups in the UN. This would enable anti-democratic forces to blackmail the US which, of course, depends on these votes to ballot against the Eastern bloc.

Top-ranking South American delegates to UN confirm this analysis. They add: "Today Latin America is the forgotten continent of the world."

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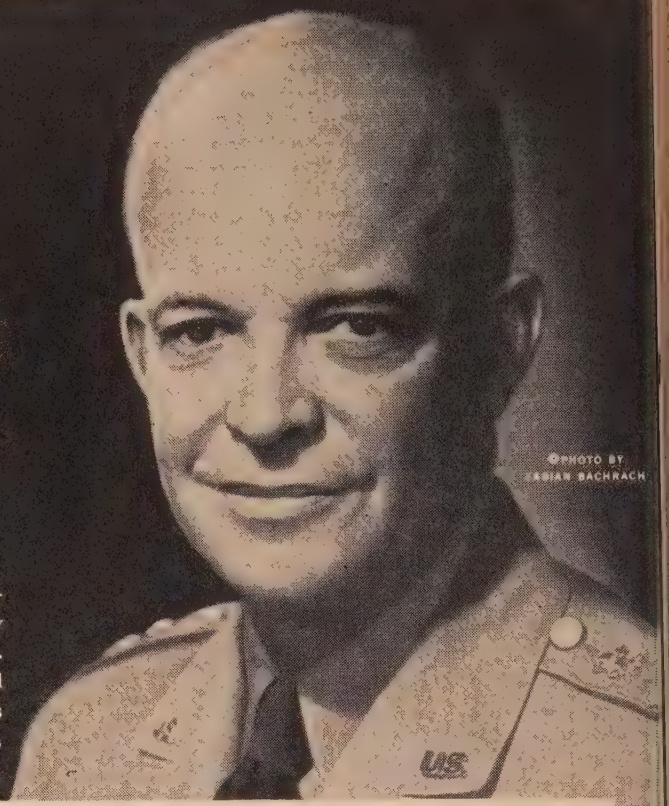

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July, 1949

United Nations WORLD Magazine

LOUIS DOLIVET reports from London, Paris, Vienna

Europe Still Wonders About the US

"Why does America's great moral leadership lag behind the influence of her economic and military might?"

THE main enigma for Europeans in this summer of 1949 is not the USSR but the government and the people of the United States of America. Almost eight years after the entry of the US into World War II, four years after victory over the Axis powers in which the US played such a decisive part, three years after America assumed leadership in the United Nations, two years after the Marshall Plan was proposed, and almost one year after announcement of American intention to join an Atlantic Pact, the US is still as much of a puzzle to many Europeans as in Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations days.

In London and Paris, in Brussels and Vienna, in Rome and in Stockholm, people talk about the US as if it were still the far-away, unpredictable utopia where immigrants can make their fortunes quickly. Europe offers a multitude of conflicting views about the aspirations and the methods of the US. These opinions vary greatly, not only from country to country, but also within the various countries themselves. There are sharp differences even within those groups which approve and those which disapprove, the US.

At the end of World War II, most Europeans were ready—and even eager—to assume that the world would henceforth be run by the US and the USSR, each emerging from its own brand of isolationism to its own brand of internationalism. They were convinced that the Soviet Union, while determined to retain world communism as a long-term goal, would nevertheless realize that cooperation with capitalist and democratic-socialist countries had become a vital necessity. Communists, particularly in countries such as France and Italy, themselves contributed to that belief by joining coalition governments and by proclaiming that a new era of cooperation between Communists and non-Communists had begun and would last for a long time to come.

In less than two years that initial concept of the Soviet Union has radically changed.

The Socialists, despite certain ideological ties with theoretical Communism, were the first to break away—initially from close cooperation, later from any tie-up whatsoever with the Communists. Christian Democrats, Independent Republicans. Radical Socialists and lesser groups followed in the scramble from the bandwagon. Today the Communist parties in Europe are more isolated morally and politically than at any other time since the creation of the Soviet Union.

With the ostra-

On his latest trip to Europe, International Editor Louis Dolivet found that, for the first time in 32 years, the Soviet Union no longer puzzled the average European. The "riddle wrapped in an enigma" today, he discovered, is the Government and the people of the United States. In this report, Mr. Dolivet records criticism by some of the most thoughtful Europeans addressed to Americans in the constructive spirit of genuine friendship.

cism of local Communists, Western Europe's attitude toward the Soviet Union itself underwent a considerable but not complete reversal.

There are today many eminent Europeans who will have nothing to do with any local Communist but who are nonetheless struggling with every available means to bridge the deep chasm between the US and the USSR. Such men have no illusions as to the exact nature and final aims of the Soviet Union. Most European non-Communists are convinced that the Soviet Union would never accept them as equal and permanent allies in the struggle for a more progressive world.

They know, by observing Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania, that in the final analysis all but the most docile supporters of the Soviet Communist line will be ruthlessly eliminated from leading positions in any nation where the Communists win control. They realize that however great their friendship for the Soviet Union may be, however strong their past record in trying to cement international amity, at best they will be accepted by Communists merely as temporary allies only to be thrown overboard at the first opportunity.

A CARTOONIST LOOKS TO EAST AND WEST. Blix, whose cartoons delight the readers of Oslo's popular *Dagbladet*, treats the US and the USSR with the same sardonic glee. Cutline under cartoon: "Our ideology, Comrades, which was to become the religion of the masses is today merely a hobby for Europe's intellectuals."

New Soviet Line

These same Europeans are equally convinced that the Soviet Government is now sufficiently aware of the new political climate in the Western World and will not move toward new conquests if these would involve a risk of war. They are further convinced that the Soviet Union will not encourage revolutionary upheavals in any country unless the existing regime is about to break down and the Communists and their allies have strength enough to take over and maintain themselves in power. Responsible and astute statesmen have emphasized to me that, in their opinion, even if a country were so disorganized that it would invite a communist attempt to seize power, any such action would now be emphatically discouraged by the Soviet Union lest it provoke intervention by the West.

The Soviet Union, according to European opinion, has entered into a period of "wait, agitate and see." Only a profound economic or political crisis in the Western world can change this Soviet strategy. Meantime, as in the twenties, Russia and her neighbors will trade as much as they can with Western Europe.

Thus the Soviet Union has ceased to be an enigma, and emerged as tough a bargainer in the economic sphere as in political or territorial questions. On the basis of past experience, no one expects any generous gesture on her part, and therefore every slight concession she may make is considered as manna.

The vacuum created by the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw somewhat from Europe could be filled by the US. However, the months go by and the vacuum remains unfilled. Somehow, despite immense admiration for the US, despite the knowledge that without its support Europe could not resist a Soviet onslaught for more than a few weeks at best, the people, by and large, are more critical of the US today than they were two years ago.

This attitude toward the US does not yet justify deep concern on the part of Americans. It should, however, serve as a check against over-optimism and as a brake on the belief that Europeans accept unequivocally everything American. The fact that the US has become such a pervasive influence in the day by day life of Europe has naturally fostered closer scrutiny of the motives, character, cultural and moral standing of the American people.

By and large, Europeans outside the Soviet sphere have become—because of their defeat in World War II and because of their economic dependence upon the US—infinitely more modest than they were before the war. The deprivations and suffering they have undergone have created a certain sense of restraint which often approaches humility. The boasting, so widespread in the late thirties, has almost entirely disappeared. It has been replaced by a congenial sophistication and healthy skepticism about their own virtues and faults.

The only important exception to that generalization is found in Great Britain. There traditional pride has been bolstered by the fact that, in 1940, the British people stood virtually alone against the triumphant Nazis and, even more, because they feel they have proved during the last four years that they are able to take more privations, with more discipline, than any victor in history.

In all the rest of non-Soviet Europe there is the readiness to accept American leadership—but on condition that this leadership be achieved not solely by virtue of America's economic and military might, but also by exercise of its moral power

BLIX ON THE MARSHALL PLAN. "In other words, gentlemen, in order to dispose of its overproduction, the US must sell us its goods, which we, with Marshall Plan aid, can now produce ourselves and which the US must then purchase from us to give us dollars so that we can buy from the US. This is called World Trade."

as a force for freedom. Great Britain, on the contrary, accepts American leadership mainly in the military and economic fields.

In innumerable conversations, Europeans of all shades of opinion and from all walks of life have told me that the psychological factor in the relationship between the US and Europe is today most important in world politics. Europeans are ready to accept America as a *primum inter pares*—as the first among the equal—but the element of equality is constantly being underscored.

The way Europeans see the world situation is that, while it is unassailably true that Europe needs the US for its very survival, the latter almost as urgently needs the political, military, economic and moral support of Europe. Consequently, Europeans—who are without doubt very grateful for Marshall Plan aid—feel some irritation when this aid is depicted as being motivated entirely by American generosity.

Every European economist I consulted stressed this idea: that, while the Marshall Plan was indispensable for Europe's economic recovery, it was also indispensable to maintain American production at the highest level by providing outlets for products which the American market alone could not absorb, as well as to lay the groundwork for future markets for the American economy.

In the same way, the phraseology in which arms aid under the Atlantic Pact is described is often ill advised. Europeans would like to see that aid presented for what it is, namely, the best possible use of weapons by Europeans, first to learn how to handle them and then to use them in case of war. The European counterpart, so they say, to American arms expenditure would be hundreds of thousands—if not millions—of lives sacrificed on the battlefields. This reasoning is justified by World War II's lend-lease operation by the US. The equipment shipped to European nations helped to save American lives.

European Criticisms

Many Europeans — particularly those in higher circles—are sharply critical of the whole American aid-to-Europe program. It is, they declare bitterly, another case of "too little and too late."

If it is true, they argue, that America is determined to discourage any aggressor in advance, and that Enrope's co-operation is vital in this stand, then aid should be less piecemeal in form and entirely adequate in substance. Europeans are intolerant of the jocular American who cites the US recession, and then tells them: "Since you seem to have recovered so wonderfully, perhaps Europe should aid America, rather than America aid Europe."

One of Europe's most noted economists told me: "If America were to suppress completely all aid under the Marshall Plan, that would not reduce the effects of the American recession but, on the contrary, would aggravate it. Not a single new factory would be opened in the US, and not a single additional man or woman employed. On the contrary, scores of American factories would be closed, and many thousand more workers would be unemployed."

Europeans agree that stoppage of aid to Europe might reduce the burden on the American taxpayer. But that in itself, they say, would not make for higher employment, if only because increased profits by corporations would immediately result in increased demands by labor, and therefore prices would rise again and wipe out any advantage gained.

Europeans wonder most about America when it comes to political, psychological, cultural and moral subjects. They are somehow convinced that they know better than most Americans how to stem the tide of Communism. Their belief is that an almost hysterical, constant denunciation of Communism is less effective than a positive affirmation, in theoretical thinking and in practical action, of the superiority of the democratic system. They feel, perhaps because so many European workers have socialistic leanings, that the most effective way to combat the influence of Communism is not so much to fight against the doctrine as such, but to show up the inner contradictions of the Soviet system and to demonstrate how widely present-day Soviet life is at variance with the promises contained in the teachings of the great socialist philosophers.

They feel that present-day Communism should be treated as a decayed and perverted form of socialist theories. The under-the-surface changes in capitalism and democratic socialism should be stressed, so as to convince the masses that the greatest social benefits will come from them, and that through them alone will they be able to maintain individual freedom.

In that respect, the anti-Communism of Europe differs appreciably from anti-Communism in America. In Europe it is a high-level theoret-

Report from Europe *continued*

ical, political concept which makes use of every element of political science in order to weaken the opponent; while in America, according to Europeans, it is merely a violent emotional outburst which cannot be effective for long.

In the cultural field, Europeans feel, they can still make very considerable contributions. Many of them are afraid that the military and economic strength of the US might create an American superiority complex which would close the US to European cultural influences.

In the moral field, Europeans feel that their inherent belief in the dignity of the individual matches and, in many cases, surpasses that of America. What Europeans hope to see almost magically take form in America is a well-night idealized society in which the principles of democracy have really triumphed to the fullest. They want Americans to be the kind of human beings at whom Europeans could point as the perfect example of what a democratic civilization can produce.

When told that this is asking a great deal—only four years after a terrible war, in the midst of great anxiety over the emergence of Soviet power—they still demand a minimum ideal of behavior of Americans. That minimum, they think, is possible if Americans—who, unlike the peoples of Europe, have never suffered the scourge of invasion and occupation — were to think more carefully about their "rendezvous with destiny" and about their relationship with the rest of the world.

America, in European opinion, has the greatest opportunity any nation ever had to advance human society and the greatness of the individual to unprecedented heights. This very opportunity also involves great risks. For if it is not used to good effect, then it might have exactly opposite results. It might put cooperation with America on a merely materialistic basis, devoid of those moral and cultural values which are the only lasting ones among men.

"Much is at stake for Europe in the outcome of the inter-relation between these two continents," said one of Europe's greatest men to me. "But, after all, Europe is in a rather secondary position and has not too much to lose." The stake for America is great. America's stake is explained by the circumstance that, having reached the heights of military, industrial and economic leadership in the world, it must—if it is to maintain itself on its present summit—achieve also political and moral leadership.

These criticisms, voiced by some of the most thoughtful Europeans, are inspired by the profound desire to see the American people reach those heights and keep them for a long time to come.

Excerpts from Dolivet's European Diary

VIENNA—MAY FOURTEENTH—Fifteen minutes ago I walked out of the office of Dr. Karl Renner, the learned, well-liked President of Austria. The office and antechambers of this unassuming man are the gala suite, with gold-encrusted walls and crystal chandeliers, where 40 years ago the most ceremonial imperial receptions were held. Forty years ago minor police officials had just begun to be annoyed by the writings of the little Socialist Renner. Truly a Horatio Alger story of European politics.

MAY FIFTEEN—Police jeeps are everywhere in Vienna—with an American at the wheel, a Russian beside him, a Britisher and a Frenchman in back. The Austrians, who love to make mild fun, say: "At first we thought they and their occupants were meant to watch us. Then we were told that they were merely watching over us. Now we know that the other three are really watching the Russian who is not in the driver's seat—yet."

ZURICH—MAY SIXTEENTH—Looking back on Austria, though a no-man's land between the Eastern and Western worlds, she is optimistic about the future of peace. Perhaps the very fact that it is so powerless, so shorn of responsibility, accounts for the serene atmosphere, the friendliness on the faces of the people, the *Gemütlichkeit* which no longer exists anywhere else in the world.

Viennese coffee houses are hospitable places where the waiter greets one familiarly as "Herr Doktor." There one finds, beneath the friendliness, beneath the concern with music, with science and the other arts, there is an amazing degree of awareness of the gravity of the international situation.

Every political doctrine is discussed, criticized, and often rejected, in Austria. Communism, socialism, anarchism, capitalism, democracy, national socialism, pan-Germanism, nihilism, existentialism—all are submitted to critical analysis at coffee house tables.

In the end, of course, and this is the measure of Austria's ineffective role in world affairs, these discussions are no more conclusive than the chess games going on at other tables where the same people confront each other day after day.

The pathology of ardent public service

Death of a Statesman

The Warning of Forrestal's Suicide

By LADISLAS FARAGO

HAD James Forrestal applied to himself a rule the US Navy prescribed for its highest-ranking flag officers, he might have escaped the tragedy that ended his life.

The rule was contained in a top-secret ordinance which directed all admirals to undergo a thorough physical check-up on the eve of major operations they were about to command. It was a strict rule ruthlessly enforced. It even deprived Adm. William F. Halsey of command in the victorious, decisive Battle of Midway.

This particular ordinance was issued by Admiral Ernest J. King, an ascetic and exacting officer, the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Fleet. Mr. Forrestal, then Undersecretary of the Navy, was fully apprised of it and of the circumstances which suggested it.

Early in the war, Admiral King happened across a collection of German writings in a book called *Axis Grand Strategy*. He was impressed by an article written by Dr. Eugen Bircher, a prominent Swiss physician, included among the German papers for its unique theme and topical significance.

Entitled *What the High Command Must Demand of the Military Surgeon*, the article discussed the heavy strain on top-ranking commanders and their failures in critical situations caused by impaired health.

This is what Admiral King found in Dr. Bircher's treatise:

"The existence and welfare of the nation in war depend upon the military high command. It is proper to demand, therefore, a careful and wholly objective supervision of the commanders' health. Those who hold in their hands the destiny of thousands, perhaps millions of men, must prove their physical and mental integrity. It is no disgrace to retire from active command for impairments suffered in the struggle of life."

Deeply impressed with the wisdom of Dr. Bircher's essay, Admiral King drafted his ordinance. Young medical officers on the staffs of the Navy's top-ranking commanders were made responsible for the physical fitness of their superiors. They were required to keep a constant tab on their health and to "ground" their distinguished patients, without consideration for the state of war, if and when they regarded them as physically or mentally unfit for command.

The result of this rule is written in the history of the US Navy during World War II. Probably with but one exception, the high-ranking commanders of the various US fleets were all "fit and hearty, green and whole" when they mounted the bridge to command major operations.

Although Mr. Forrestal admired Admiral King's ordinance, it seems that he but imperfectly understood its true lesson. He failed to perceive the philosophy behind the rule—its explicit warning that no one, no matter how highly placed, is ever really indispensable, not even in moments of great crisis.

This is a sound democratic principle. It might, therefore, seem strange that the *civilian* head of the Navy should have thus missed the fine political philosophy of his top-ranking admiral. But Mr. Forrestal never really understood "his admirals."

Ever since James Forrestal "joined the Navy" in 1940, he had tried to live in two worlds simultaneously. One was his own *civilian* world—a complex world to be sure, in which he combined with consummate skill the practical shrewdness and cynicism of the great financier with the spiritual humility and even naiveté of the scholar and humanitarian. The other was the regimented world of the Navy with its fancy rituals and ob-

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Ladislas Farago, UN World's Editor for Political Affairs, was for four years Chief of Research and Planning in the Navy's top-secret Special Warfare Branch, a position which enabled him to observe Mr. Forrestal's activities at close quarters. Before that, Mr. Farago had edited the book, *Axis Grand Strategy*, from which Admiral King adapted the system of medical check-ups for top-ranking Naval personnel. He also carried out special confidential assignments for Mr. Forrestal, one of them leading to the establishment of the Seabees.

The last time Mr. Farago talked with Mr. Forrestal was in January of this year — a few weeks before his resignation as Secretary of Defense, a move on which he had already decided and which the onset of his tragic and fatal illness merely hurried.

In the preparation of this article, Mr. Farago was aided by a panel of physicians who, in accordance with the ethics of their profession, prefer to remain anonymous. To this distinguished group of scientists, the Editors of UNW owe a debt of gratitude.

Death of a Statesman *continued*

solescent regulations, its petty tyrannies and oriental glamor.

Forrestal's innate democracy soon clashed with "his Navy's" authoritarian regime. The clash was violent and severe, confronting him with a dilemma he refused to solve—or even to face—until, perhaps, the moment of his plunge from the high window. There is no doubt in my mind that James Forrestal was a civilian to the very end, that he even despised this small insular oligarchy of the Navy. But he had no alternative. He had to take it as it was, in the midst of war.

By temperament he was not inclined to antagonize the service as did Josephus Daniels, whose opinion of the Navy was expressed in these words: "I had not long to wait before learning that the most serious defect in the Navy was the lack of democracy." Nevertheless, embedded in his subconscious, there remained the civilian's familiar contempt of the military.

Forrestal worked hard to adjust himself to this new second world while striving desperately to retain at least the vestiges of the first. For all its surface smoothness, the adjustment was difficult and, as the end proves, a failure. I have seen Forrestal for years surrounded by "his admirals"—entering the Navy Department's plot room with them, at conferences, in his private dining room at important luncheon discussions, or at stiffly jovial parties. His conduct was always the same: a tense, uncertain, unrelaxed conviviality whose laborious *camaraderie* failed to narrow the gap between Forrestal and the admirals, no matter how both sought to reduce it.

Forrestal early made up his mind to be "on the best of terms" with the admirals. He often overdid it, alarming or alienating an occasional civilian visitor who observed his ambivalent relations with "the Big Brass." The late Raymond Leslie Buell told me he had been appalled by what appeared to him Forrestal's "complete subordination to the admirals." Others, too, complained that he often went too far to court the admirals' favor. A close friend, who mourns his death with intense sincerity, now recalls Forrestal's almost frantic desire to establish intimacy with the admirals, gawkishly calling them by such Academy nicknames as "Cookie," "Duke" and "Savvy," and making a gauche effort to dilute his own highly articulate vocabulary with their hazy, stultified lingo.

Although I do not presume to exercise the prerogatives of the psychoanalyst, one central and obvious fact in Mr. Forrestal's case can hardly be ignored. It is that in his relations with the admirals he displayed an ambivalent attitude in which he sometimes almost cringed before them, and at other times asserted the power of his place over them. He shuttled constantly between the terminals of both kinds of behavior. In this one can safely perceive that to his unconscious the admirals were symbols of authority, reflections of the father image, and that, as a result of his early conditioning, Mr. Forrestal had never managed to resolve satisfactorily his bi-polar feelings about the father as authority.

As time went on, Mr. Forrestal allowed himself to be drawn into some of the Navy's more puerile pageantry. When he became Navy Secretary, he agreed to be "piped aboard" his landlocked office, a ritual he would certainly have ridiculed had he remained a "civilian."

He was surrounded by aides wearing their Sunday bests with all kinds of special insignia—*aiguillettes,* stars, chevrons, gold braid and epaulettes.

All he had to do was to push a button and a Navy captain would come rushing into his office eager to carry out his order without questioning its propriety, prudence or wisdom. Whenever he had to travel, guns would boom out salutes, honor guards would snap to attention, celebrities would crowd the deck of his sleek vessel. Throughout his last year, the entire military establishment waited on him, though with something of the bored eagerness of a batman of a retired general.

Mr. Forrestal had vast talents and great moral strength, but neither sufficed to resolve the conflict within him—the clash between his civilian and military worlds.

As Secretary of Defense, he found himself in the center of a great totalitarianism. It only made his life more difficult. His was no longer the chore of dealing with the whims and needs of the admirals alone. He now had to placate the generals of the Army and conciliate the impetuous young commanders of the Air Force. Over-anxious to please—and to ward off hostility in others — Forrestal soon found out that he could never please all of his daily petitioners. The pressures increased—they were both subtle and coarse, both overt and covert. They grew until they became unbearable. Eventually they drove him into his final *cul de sac.*

The Case History

What, then, was the exact nature of Mr. Forrestal's malady; how long did he suffer from it; and why was it allowed to reach such a violent climax?

1. James Forrestal suffered from an illness professionally known as involutional melancholia. It is quite possible that he would have undergone the same breakdown if he had never entered public service, for this is a disease which, in some way, is connected with normal organic retrogression usually beginning after the age of 40. Its onset is signalled by intense psychic pain as a result of continuous anxiety.

The purely psychic disorders observed in Mr. Forrestal included mental confusion alternating with lucidity, fluctuating psychic pain, sluggishness in the association of ideas, spells of elation and some mistakes of identity.

His physical disorders included disturbances of digestive functions, loss of appetite and of weight and such nervous afflictions as headache, tremors, and insomnia.

Despite the early intensity of attacks, involutional melancholia lends itself to cure which can be both rapid and complete. Approximately 67 per cent of all cases recover completely, 8 per cent end in dementia due to the development of cerebral arteriosclerosis, 25 per cent end in death—most of them due to suicide or to "melancholic wasting."

2. Forrestal's enemies both here and abroad still speculate about how long he had been ill before he was hospitalized. It has been insinuated and openly stated, that the crucial business of national defense was in the hands of a man whose sanity was impaired for a long period prior to his first open attack.

The medical fact is that Mr. Forrestal was perfectly sane until the very onslaught of the disease. His illness was of quite recent origin, certainly not predating his resignation from office by more than a few weeks.

Mr. Forrestal was the first to diagnose his own disease. In conversations with friends early this year he described the very symptoms of his subsequent illness—instability, insomnia, painful digestion and a tendency to rapid fatigue, pessimism. He ascribed them to the burdens of his office and to the conflicting demands it was placing upon him.

By the middle of February the symptoms mounted in intensity and the psychic pain grew. At this earliest stage of his illness Forrestal decided to relinquish his office and to call in a psychiatrist.

3. At the time of his death, Mr. Forrestal was clearly on the way to recovery. It is even possible that, accelerated as his treatment was by the desire to restore the health of this very important patient, his recovery was somewhat too rapid. His mental confusion was gone, his appetite had returned. He had regained a state of almost perfect lucidity which enabled him to survey his own case with considerable discernment. His suicide occurred during a paroxysm called *raptus melancholicus*—profound agitation that is ordinarily exceedingly brief.

There was direct connection between the return of lucidity and the fatal paroxysm. While Mr. Forrestal did have feelings of guilt and negation, as well as certain persecution complexes, he was not running away from them when he sought escape through the sixteenth floor window of Bethesda Naval Hospital. He was running away from fear of his own illness more than anything else. There is no question in the mind of his doctors that Mr. Forrestal would have recovered completely; but there remains reason to question whether he shared their confidence and prognosis.

4. Thus there remains a fourth question to be answered: Could better psychiatric care have prevented Mr. Forrestal's end?

The medical consensus is that Mr. Forrestal was amply provided for in all respects, from the moment of his arrival in Bethesda to about 50 seconds prior to his death. How far his guardians can be blamed for his suicide is not a matter for me to decide. But contrary to reports and comment published in the immediate wake of the tragedy, it may be stated categorically that:

- Bethesda Naval Hospital is as well equipped to take care of psychiatric patients as any comparable institution in the world.
- The Navy's psychiatric practices are up-to-date and are constantly modernized.
- The Senior Psychiatrist of Bethesda, Dr. George C. Raines, is known and respected as an outstanding specialist in the field and his staff is carefully chosen and trained in line with most modern psychiatric research.

The name of Captain Raines is, in fact, closely associated with a remarkable recent development in Naval psychiatry: the addition of psychoanalysis to the Navy's established psychiatric methods. Four Navy psychiatrists, including Dr. Raines himself, were detailed to receive analytic training. Dr. Raines received "depth" analysis from the late Dr. Henry Stack Sullivan of the William Allison White Foundation.

To Mr. Forrestal's case, Dr. Raines applied the methods of conventional psychiatry as well as psychoanalysis. Upon arrival, the patient was not assigned to regular hospital quarters but placed in a special room reserved for Dr. Raines' personal use. This arrangement enabled the doctor to hold long informal sessions with his

THE MEDICINE OUR STATESMEN TAKE. Grouped in the photograph at left taken for UNW are some of the medications most statesmen use to arrest their illnesses and to keep themselves in harness. From left: Syntropan (a sedative), Benadryl (asthma and other allergies), Dexedrine (a stimulant), Pyribenzamine (allergies), Digitalis (heart), Demerol (pain alleviator), Nembutal (sleeping capsules), Aminophyllin (heart and blood pressure), Adrenalin (arteries and heart). Foreground: Insulin (diabetes). Center: syringe for injections.

patient, in congenial surroundings conducive to rapid recovery. He found Mr. Forrestal responding remarkably well to analysis. In fact, he responded far better to this form of therapy than to insulin shock and other radical treatments.

It may be argued that the concentrated "dose" of analysis, while accelerating recovery, also increased the likelihood of suicide. But the tempo of Mr. Forrestal's medical care was, unfortunately, never left to the sole discretion of his attending physicians. Far greater influences intervened. His rapid recovery became imperative when the nature of his illness became widely known and used by Soviet propaganda to intensify its attack on Forrestal as the symbol of "warmongers" in the United States. From then on, it became a matter of urgent national interest to disprove the exaggerations of Soviet propaganda by restoring Forrestal to complete health.

No one can possibly know for certain what turn the disease would have taken without the attention focussed upon it in view of the patient's prominence. But it is safe to assume that an ordinary patient, allowed to enjoy the benefits of a normal cure, would have recovered in full—without the accident of suicide on the road to recovery. It is, therefore, regrettable that the case of Mr. Forrestal was advertised during its acute and most delicate stage—even if the patient's strategic role in world affairs might seem to justify any and all revelations concerning his person.

Health Is Whose Concern?

The case of James Forrestal thus raises three vital questions:

1. To how much privacy is a public servant of Mr. Forrestal's importance entitled?

2. How far is the health of our statesmen impaired by the wear and tear of public service on their minds and bodies?

3. How could the system of medical examination devised by Admiral King for the US Navy be applied to the leaders of a nation at large?

The first question is now vehemently argued by vindictive partisans when it should be the subject of frank and objective investigation on a far broader scale. As for the health of our statesmen, the fact that they are infirm is only too well known. Even as I write this, word comes from Sofia that Premier Georgi Dimitroff of Bulgaria is going to a Crimean resort to arrest a serious cardiac condition. From Rome comes word that Premier Alcide de Gasperi is temporarily disabled with an attack of arthritis.

The illnesses of statesmen comprise an impressive category. They include:

hypertensive cardiovascular disease;
coronary occlusion;
anginal syndrome, and other cardiac conditions;
various rheumatic diseases; arthritis and gout;
diabetes;
various diseases of the gall bladder and the kidneys;
hypertrophy of the prostate gland;
allergies including asthma;
migraine and other forms of persistent headaches;
insomnia; and others.

But the trouble with statesmen is not that they are ill. It is that they are not granted or do not themselves take time out to be cured. In any other profession, a man as ill as Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin of Great Britain (now 65 years of age) would retire to cure his asthma and weak heart—but not in international affairs.

Coughing his way across the Atlantic Ocean, Mr. Bevin appeared undaunted in Washington to sign the Atlantic Pact. Tormented by a painful kidney that had to be removed, General Marshall journeyed to Moscow to attend a Council of the Foreign Ministers; and General Stillwell, unbowed in defeat, walked all the way out of Burma with a cancerous liver.

There are no standards, no test tubes, no yardsticks to measure the influence of Maxim Litvinov's double cystal on Russo-American relations or the role US Ambassador Wallace Murray's severe heart attack played in the deterioration of the Iranian crisis in 1946. For all we know, Harry Hopkins' pathetic stomach ailment aided rather than impeded the Allies' war effort. Modern science, even when summoning all the wisdom of psychosomatic medicine, can only grope for a satisfactory answer to the question: Is Mr. Bevin's temper due to his asthma or is his asthma due to his temper ?

On the other hand, Stalin's much advertised agina pectoris precluded another meeting of the Big Three top men, perhaps preventing a pacification of the world.

Some of these diseases are enigmatic and their influence on history is equally so. Superimposed on them all is the intangible of will power which keeps statesmen in the ring even while lesser men are ready to abandon the fight. And then—there are the medications! Surveying the batteries of medicine bottles in the luggage of any traveling statesman these days, one is inclined to ask: What is of graver consequence to the world, the statesman's disease or the medicine he takes against it?

For many of those bottles contain drugs which tend to impair the statesman's mental processes far more than his illness might. Pyribenzamine, taken to alleviate a mean attack of asthma; demerol to lessen the pain of an inflamed kidney; nembutal to drive away insomnia; insulin to balance diabetes; digitalis to keep an unruly heart in ticking order—all these wonderful drugs (see cut on page 16) may have an injurious effect on the cerebral work of the statesman, often at critical times.

The Forrestal Lesson

The tragedy of Mr. Forrestal points a warning as eloquent as his suicide itself—*a warning to quit before it is too late.* This warning was anticipated by Admiral King with his unorthodox ordinance introducing a system of physical check-ups on the eve of battle.

Whether it is done by a diagnostician specially assigned to the job or by the statesman's private physician to whom the great man is merely a patient, a check-up should be made on the eve of major diplomatic decisions and conferences. The statesman must have sufficient strength of character to obey his doctor's orders and ground himself when the check-up reveals the need to do so.

I Remember Shanghai

"The world's bawdiest, craziest, most exciting city"

By EDMOND DEMAITRE

Veteran foreign correspondent

ON SHANGHAI'S SULTRY PEKING ROAD: RICKSHAWS, BICYCLES, TROLLEYS

WHEN, a few weeks ago, Gen. Chen Yi's American-made tanks rolled down the Bund, Shanghai's billion-dollar main thoroughfare, a Communist army had conquered the world's bawdiest, craziest and most exciting city. Communism was taking possession of a weird metropolis of 6 million inhabitants, where Asiatic hedonism, European individualism and American efficiency had created a center for financial adventure, political intrigue and complicated vices — all on a gigantic scale.

For a moment many like myself who had lived in Shanghai and cherished the memory of that incredible Babel held their breath. Was the city going to be subjected to a swift communistic Gleichschaltung? Was it to be cleansed, reformed, policed and regimented until it lost the last trace of its fantastic flavor?

Part of the answer came the very next day. With a sudden flash the luminous signs that hang before the narrow houses of Shanghai's sing-song girls, and that had been banned by the panicky Nationalist Government, burst into light. Once again the ladies were in and waiting, eager to resume their profession.

The lithe girls with the jet-black buns had proved a greater obstacle to communism than the abandoned lend-lease guns of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Old China hands understood at once that restoration of the doorpost lamps was of truly symbolic significance.

Other, and also surprising, Communist compromises confirm that the old Shanghai is not yet ready to die. Unaffected by one more change of rulers, for a long time to come it will

I Remember SHANGHAI

continued

continue to thrive on contradictions, contrasts and excess.

Shanghai is the city where 30,000 corpses of the starved are picked up in the streets each year, and where two competing collectors once pushed the price of a two-inch jade statuette to $120,000. It is the city where restaurants charge $600 US for a meal, and where pawnshops are situated on street corners and provided with two exits. When a Chinese meets a friend in a pawnshop, he shrugs casually: "I'm only taking a short cut. I'm not doing anything here."

Shanghai has Asia's tallest building, Sassoon House, and more than half of China's cotton mills. In Shanghai everything under the sun can be bought on credit, including steam ships, exotic birds, carved antique screens and women.

In this city are the headquarters of nearly all religious missions working in the Far East, and also the headquarters of nearly all dope smugglers, pirate gangs, terror organizations and vice rings operating between the island of Sakhalin and the Timor Sea. When the gates of the mills and warehouses close at night, the doors of thousands of dancehalls, night clubs, opium dens, and brothels open up. In some amusement centers there are lottery drawings every hour on the hour, day and night.

Shanghai means "Above the Sea," and the city received its first charter in the 13th century. Its real history, however, the beginning from which grew the third largest city in the world, began on the dark, starry night of June 11, 1842. That night a British man-of-war slipped quietly up the Yangtze River and dropped anchor 12 miles from Shanghai. The name of the man-of-war was *Nemesis*.

A few days later British troops under one Colonel Montgomerie occupied the city, and next year the English Settlement between Soochow Creek and the Yangking Canal was founded. Then came the Americans, the French, the Germans and, finally, the Japanese.

Shanghai is no city to reverence the past, or even remind one of it. The city has few historic monuments. Those who insisted on visiting "historic relics," were usually taken to the French Club and shown with obvious pride the longest bar in the world, and the five cards of the original Shanghai Royal Flush. The five cards are kept under glass, together with the affidavits of the players who participated in the historic game which produced that rarest of poker hands. In the last few weeks, green-clad soldiers of the Communist Army have paid daily visits to the Royal Flush, stared at it for awhile, and then withdrew respectfully.

Just as Shanghai neglects the past, it ignores the future. And it would seem that even the present circumstances should give the city no cause for fear or disquiet. Hasn't the Secretary of Shanghai's Communist Party hastened to reassure the city's bankers and industrialists that business must and would go on as usual? And hasn't the Central Committee of the CCP declared that "we didn't come to disturb but only to supervise?"

The "gradual and not violent reforms," at which the Communists aim is not a program to frighten the Taipans, the big bosses of Shanghai. In turn, they have dealt with the proconsuls of the Western Powers, of the Kuomintang, the Japanese conquerors and the Chinese Quislings.

STREET OF SING-SONG GIRLS in Shanghai where doorlamps, each bearing the name of the girl within, are lighted when they are at home and available to patrons.

The limitless possibilities of China have attracted foreign investments to the tune of 5 billion dollars—5 thousand million. This money is the lifeblood of the country's economy and the people who own it live mostly in Shanghai, either in the District of Millionaires in the French Settlement, or on the princely estates off Hungjao Road. Along exclusive Avenue Paul Doumer the sumptuous villas are modern buildings equipped with the newest gadgets from Europe and the United States. On Hungjao Road, until a few weeks ago, the Taipans lived in replicas of old Chinese palaces among blooming gardens complete with strange little bridges, colorful pavilions, miniature pagodas, and exquisitely shaped lotus pools guarded by dragons carved in stone. But as the Communist armies approached, the Nationalists decided to make a stand on Hungjao Road. To prepare the battlefield they tore down most of the villas and pagodas, razed the gardens, toppled and smashed the stone monsters and leveled the groves. In the end, when all was in ruins, they decided not to fight after all, and withdrew without firing a shot.

The man who used to rule the millionaires of the Bund as J. P. Morgan used to dominate Wall Street is a square-shouldered Briton with a slight limp, Sir Ellice Victor Sassoon. It was in the early thirties that Sir Victor decided that restive India, where his family traditionally operated, was no longer a suitable place for a bank account running into 10 or 11 figures, and that he should set up shop in Shanghai. An official announcement to that effect created a wild sensation all over East and Southeast Asia, and in the metropolis on the Yangtze real estate prices soared to unprecedented heights.

When Sir Victor finally arrived, he brought along cash estimated at 300 million dollars. Boom or no boom, he bought up real estate, acquired ships, mills, banks, oil interests, and spent a fortune on antiques and race horses. The local bigwigs, the Kungs, the Kadoories, the Hardoons watched with bated breath as the former bullion broker became a dominant factor in Shanghai's economic life. Sensing the future, however, Sir Victor started to liquidate some of his holdings as soon as 1946 and 1947. One of his private estates, "The Eaves," became a country club, while two other estates were purchased by members of the Generalissimo's family.

Years in the life of Shanghai

13th Century. The city gets its name and charter from the Emperor.

1842. The Treaty of Nanking designates Shanghai as a "Treaty Port" and opens it to foreign trade.

1865. A census of "foreign devils" shows 4,000 British, 500 Americans, 300 Germans, 300 French residents.

1865. Through the port of Shanghai 16.4 million taels' (approximately $27 million) worth of opium is imported to China from India.

1897. The "Wheelbarrow Riot." Coolies resisting exploitation.

1903. Opium imported to the value of 40 million Chinese dollars.

1925. "The Massacre." Police kill demonstrating students and striking coolies, causing a wave of anti-foreign feeling.

1932. Japan attacks with 100,000 troops, 40 ships, 120 planes.

1937. The Sino-Japanese War begins. Shanghai is bombed, damaged, conquered.

1945. Shanghai is liberated.

1949. The Communist Army occupies Shanghai.

The mirage of money has lured to Shanghai not only great businessmen, but also a number of the most reckless adventurers of modern times. I remember a Portuguese called Marques who made a fortune by importing aphrodisiacs, bought indiscriminately gambling houses and shipyards, and ended his life in jail.

I remember the legendary Jacob "Pedro" Pedersen, allegedly a Dane, who supplied marauding generals with arms, salted away several million dollars, and finally was murdered somewhere in Sinkiang.

And I remember Trebitsch Lincoln, the "King of Spies," who though once a member of Britain's Parliament, was to become, among other things, a German spy, an agent of Bela Kun, a crony of Field Marshall Ludendorff—a one-man international menace.

Trebitsch Lincoln had rooms in a small Shanghai hotel, the Hollandisch, at 50 Avenue Debail, from where he directed many a fantastic

TAXI DANCE GIRLS in a Shanghai night club play hostess to US Marines and one civilian. The girl dancing is an Asian, the second—at the table—looks Caucasian.

ON THE BUND. Pedestrians and rickshaws dominate traffic even in downtown westernized Shanghai. Along this street, called Shanghai's Broadway, imposing business buildings face across the broad brick pavement to the famous Soochow Creek.

ONLY A DEAD BABY—and scarcely a novelty in Shanghai. This photo was made by the author during hostilities in 1937.

I Remember SHANGHAI

continued

plot and conspiracy and served three or four nations simultaneously. After the death of the famous war lord Wu Pei Fu, he became a Buddhist monk and retired to a monastery near Nantato, and later to Pekin. Incongruously, he died peacefully in his bed during the war. His only son, who had followed in his father's footsteps, was hanged many years ago in England for murder.

In the city of Shanghai, local politics and vice are administered by the more or less anonymous, powerful overlords of the dreaded secret societies. According to an official police estimate, in Shanghai before the war 100,000 men and women were enrolled in terroristic outfits, the most powerful of which, "The Greens," is said to be the world's vastest, most ruthless and most lucrative criminal organization. Much of the Generalissimo's authority for many years has been attributed by Western investigators to "Green" support.

The secret societies' customary method in dealing with opponents is assassination, the assassins being not political fanatics but hired hands. In Shanghai, politics and murder are intimately connected. When I once asked a Chinese friend about a man called Yen Pao-han, he automatically answered: "He is an insignificant politician. Only 300 dollars have been placed on his head."

Death, violent or otherwise, seems to have small importance in Shanghai. During the Second Chinese War a pilot attempted to bomb the Japanese flagship *Idzumo* anchored on the Wangpoo River. He missed, and his aerial torpedo burst on Avenue Edouard VII, which was tightly

THE COUNTERS GAME, with cigarets and tea, being played by two calm young men in Shanghai. The Chinese are known for their love of games of skill and chance. The contest engrossing these two adversaries is similar to "Chinese checkers."

packed with refugees, killing 2,054 persons. The Avenue was still littered with charred bodies when in the neighboring streets the dance halls opened. "How is business tonight?" I asked the owner of the Black Butterfly. "Excellent as usual," was his answer.

There are no reliable figures as to the number of Shanghai's prostitutes and female entertainers, but their number runs into the hundreds of thousands. The entertainers are usually called "taxi girls," and you can see them sitting in long rows along the walls of the sordid dance halls of the North Sechuan Road, or, if they are lucky and pretty enough, on the cosy divans of the better night clubs such as Del Monico and Casanova.

Every man entering these establishments must buy at least 10 dance tickets, the price of which varies according to the amount of plush used for the decoration and the color of the hostess. On North Sechuan Road tickets may be bought for five cents apiece, while in the swankier places where only white girls are allowed to entertain, the price ranges from 50 cents to 1 dollar—a stiff cover charge. The girls' share is 10 per cent and they are expected to work 10 hours.

Most hostesses in the better clubs are White Russians who fled with their families from Siberia and Manchuria after the collapse of Admiral Kolchak's counter-revolutionary army. The presence of several hundred thousand White Russians is not likely to make life easier for the Communist authorities.

White Russians, Trotskyites, Anarchists, Nihilists, secret societies, dope rings, millions of famished and turbulent coolies, two hundred thousand prostitutes and taxi girls, few hospitals and innumerable opium dens—that is what the Communists have conquered in Shanghai. The military triumph may have been unexpectedly easy, but to turn this city of six million individualists into a collective society will be no picnic for General Mao Tse-tung, China's Communist leader.

EAST-WEST MERGER. Chinese in traditional garb has just alighted from a modern, 20th-Century trolley in Shanghai.

Labor's New World Union

Frustrated by Communists, western leaders plan a half-world federation

By PHILIP MURRAY

President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations

WHEN the CIO formally withdrew from the World Federation of Trade Unions last month, it was an action taken more in sorrow than in anger.

The WFTU, as the new world labor organization, was created in Paris during the autumn of 1945. It symbolized the high hopes of workers everywhere that the postwar world would offer a favorable climate for the development of unity and peace among all peoples.

But events since V-J Day have shattered these expectations. The intransigent attitude displayed by the rulers of the Soviet government and their neighbors has replaced this atmosphere of faith in the future by suspicion of motives and men.

The Communist policies which have made difficult the work of government diplomacy have been no less virulent in the ranks of labor, both in the United States and abroad. Those disruptive tactics, as they emerged in the top levels of the World Federation of Trade Unions, were aimed squarely at perverting the original intent and program of the WFTU. Had they succeeded, had the democratic unions within the WFTU consented to this injection of political domination of a labor organization, the WFTU would quickly have developed into an unvarnished Communist ideological agency supported in large part by the dues payments of anti-Communists.

It was insistence on the part of the Russians and their labor allies that the WFTU adhere to the letter and the spirit of every tenet of Cominform faith, that led the CIO, the British and the Dutch representatives to leave the WFTU's executive bureau last January.

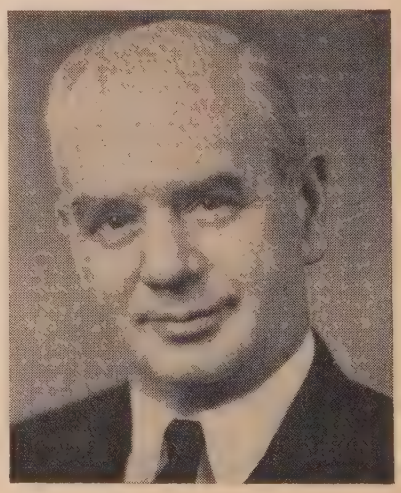
Since that time the rupture with the WFTU has been formalized by official action of those three unions, and numerous other national labor centers throughout the world have taken similar steps. Today the World Federation of Trade Unions retains the support only of Communist-led labor groups, principally in the Soviet Union, France, Italy, eastern Europe and Communist China.

Meanwhile, the free trade unions of the democratic nations—including both the CIO and the AFL—are taking active steps for a non-Communist international labor federation which will be capable of acting in the interests of union members without the inhibitions and controls imposed by the somersaulting ideologies decreed by the political leaders in the Kremlin.

I take no personal pleasure from this inevitable split between the democratic and Communist unions of the WFTU, any more than other Americans have rejoiced at the major disagreements which have marked the history of the United Nations itself.

The world's problems—including its labor problems—might be closer to solution had the Big Three unity of the wartime period carried over into the postwar years. But unity must be based on faith and some harmony of purpose. Without those elements, it is idle to pretend that unity can exist.

In the WFTU, the representatives of the CIO soon discovered that the quest for unity with spokesmen of the Cominform was leading us only towards frustration and a sterile do-nothing policy. The new organization, which I expect will be formed sometime this year, will have a common purpose—the advancement of the interests of workers and their unions. It will be able to adopt a program and carry it out.



THE AUTHOR

For a brief period, indeed, it appeared that the World Federation of Trade Unions might also be successful as a functioning organization.

Certain AFL union officials have criticized the CIO for believing, even in 1944 and 1945, that an international organization in which the Russians were represented was worthy of our participation. But we were not utopian idealists when we helped establish the WFTU. We had soberly balanced the chances of success and failure. We tried to appraise the effect on Communist thinking of the tremendous, heoric war effort of the Russian people. We recognized that to cast the Russians arbitrarily into postwar isolation would most certainly damage all our hopes for lasting peace and security.

We wanted to meet the Russians half-way, in the belief that some of their suspicions and mistrust of the free unions of the non-Soviet world would be dissolved by close working contact with us in a co-operative effort for building a better world.

I am still convinced that the attempt, unsuccessful though it proved, was worth the effort. Without it, the present atmosphere—bad as it is—might have been even worse.

Before the war, the CIO had rejected the concept of isolationism, both in governmental affairs and labor activity. During the 1930's, the CIO developed fraternal relationships with a number of the labor centers of both Europe and Latin America. Once the war developed, the CIO naturally became more convinced of the wisdom of participating in a series of conversations looking toward the establishment of an international labor federation more suitable to the new situation than the older International Federation of Trade Unions.

In 1942, at our convention in Boston, the CIO unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the taking of all necessary steps to develop close co-operation among the CIO, the AFL, the railroad brotherhoods and the labor unions of all the united nations.

On the basis of developments during the middle phases of the war, the CIO's convention in 1944 endorsed "the project of a new single powerful international labor body that shall include all the unions of free countries on a basis of equality, excluding none and relegating none to a secondary place. . . ." At the same time, the convention authorized acceptance of an invitation from the British Trades Congress for a preliminary conference in December, 1944, to explore the possibilities of establishing such an organization as had been envisaged in the convention resolution.

I designated a committee headed by the late Sydney Hillman to attend the London conference. From that time until his death in the spring of 1946, Mr. Hillman devoted much of his great talent and energy to the promotion of a democratic structure for world labor. After Mr. Hillman's death, Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey has carried on a major portion of this difficult, and often exasperating, assignment.

The preparatory conference in December, 1944, in turn paved the way for the World Trade Union Conference in London in February, 1945. It was truly an impressive gathering, in which delegates from 64 national labor organizations were represented.

Today, in the light of subsequent developments, two of the committee reports of the London meeting are of particular interest.

The Committee on World Trade Union Federation — of which Sir Walter Citrine was chairman — reported: "The conference is sincerely convinced of the vital importance to world labor of uniting in one world federation the trade union bodies of freedom-loving nations, irrespective of considerations of race, of creed, or of political, religious or philosophical distinctions."

Of equal significance was a statement prepared by the Committee on Post-War Reconstruction — a statement in whose support the Soviet trade unions joined with all the other labor groups: "The paramount need for international co-operation in economic affairs for the purpose of minimizing the devastating effects of general trade depressions is univer-

The man, and the motives, behind the CIO withdrawal

To labor's role in world affairs, Philip Murray brings the same canny patient open-mindedness, the same quiet eloquence touched by a Scotch burr that for 30 years have placed him among the top five collective-bargaining negotiators in US unionism.

A devout Catholic he opposes Communist doctrine on more than religious grounds. He finds its practical duplicity, its intellectual dishonesty, an affront to the very concept of a free man's freedom. When Communist infiltration into key CIO unions imperiled the future of that organization, Mr. Murray without fanfare began removing Communist organizers, sympathizers, and fellow travelers.

After the Kremlin voiced its opposition to the Marshall Plan, Mr. Murray—to serve open notice of his intentions—invited then Secretary of State George Catlett Marshall to address the October, 1947, convention of the CIO in Boston. This event marked the turning point in the CIO's campaign against Communists in its own ranks.

But while Mr. Murray could thwart Communist machinations within the CIO, he could hardly achieve the same result within the World Federation of Trade Unions. He could only seek to expose Communist aims to the world, and take the CIO out of the WFTU in protest against them. This was in some ways a difficult choice. For the WFTU was the only global organization of trade unions, and Mr. Murray is convinced that labor requires an international organization to enable it to participate actively and constructively in those decisions which affect world prosperity, jobs, wages, trade.

In his view the new, proposed world labor union, which would have equal status with WFTU before the UN, is the appropriate answer. Through it Western labor can again have a voice and vote in shaping its own political and economic destiny on a world-wide basis.—*The Editors.*

Labor's New World Union *continued*

sally acknowledged. This conference therefore calls upon all governments to co-operate for the purpose of establishing an international monetary system and institutions of international economic co-ordination capable of promoting a steady expansion of foreign trade . . . of making long-term loans for the economic and industrial development of colonial territories and backward countries, conditional upon the observance of internally agreed working conditions. . . ."

These were encouraging indications of a genuine desire to grapple realistically with the economic problems of the postwar world, to work together as trade unions, and to minimize political differences in the interest of practical achievement in those realms in which the unions could be most effective.

The World Federation of Trade Unions was formally constituted in November, 1945, during a two-week convention in Paris. The same apparent spirit of co-operation that had marked the earlier meetings was still present. In conversations with the leaders of the largest unions represented at the first WFTU meeting, Mr. Hillman strongly expressed the CIO's viewpoint: **that the world organization would prosper so long as it closely adhered to its trade union functions, and that it would inevitably create insurmountable difficulties if it permitted itself the luxury of engaging in international politics.**

Most readers of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD are familiar with the trend of developments within the WFTU in the four years since the Paris convention.

■ We discovered that Mr. Louis Saillant, the Secretary General of the WFTU, who described himself as a French Socialist, had aligned himself firmly and brazenly with the Soviet bloc.

■ We found that he was advocating political strikes—as a means of implementing the WFTU's anti-Franco resolution—though the CIO and other national union centers had made clear their fundamental opposition to this kind of action.

■ We saw continuous effort on the part of much of the WFTU secretariat to ridicule or belittle the efforts of the non-Communist unions, and to accept the standard *Pravda* interpretations of conditions in both the USSR and the USA.

This tendency was greatly accelerated when the Cominform adopted its militant policy of hostility to the western democracies after the United States government brought forth its suggestion of a European Recovery Program. At a meeting of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU in November, 1947, Mr. Carey of the CIO was able, only after the most vigorous argument, to voice our organization's reasons for supporting the ERP.

This opposition even to hearing the CIO's views on the most important economic phenomenon of the postwar years was in clear contradiction to the WFTU's own constitution. The preamble of that document called on the organization to "work for a stable and enduring peace . . . by supporting the widest possible international co-operation in the social and economic spheres, and measures for the industrial development and full utilization of the resources of the undeveloped countries."

Nevertheless, the Russians, as well as the representatives of the French CGT and the Italian CGIL, objected to any discussion of the European Recovery Program within the WFTU.

Their sentiment at the meeting, and the subsequent flood of propaganda from WFTU headquarters against the ERP, indicated to us in the CIO that the political directives of the Cominform were taking precedence over policies of self-interest in the Communist-dominated union centers. Further, by refusing to concern itself with the transcendent problems arising from development of ERP, the WFTU consciously divested itself of its most important functional activity. The workers of Europe wanted co-operation with ERP, in order to have a voice in a program manifestly involving their own economic interests. With the WFTU hostile to the program and aloof to the needs of the workers, the democratic unions were forced to establish their own committee to handle ERP functions.

Thus, the ERP Trade Union Advisory Committee came into being; and out of the co-operative activities on ERP problems there arose the desire for a new international organization responsive to the needs and aspirations of democratic workers. That new organization is now in the process of construction.

It will succeed. As the voice of labor in the democratic world, it will be a powerful influence for economic and social improvement.

BEFORE THE WALKOUT. At the Paris WFTU meeting: CIO's James B. Carey (left) and England's Arthur Deakin (hat) smile at a comment by Holland's E. Kupers.

The Russian Play for the WFTU

THE World Federation of Trade Unions was designed by the Kremlin to spearhead a revival of the Popular Front movement which the Comintern muffed completely during the 1930's.

The USSR's leadership in the post-1936 period felt immensely let down by:

- The failure of world labor to rescue the Loyalist cause in Spain.
- The failure of French labor to sustain the *Front Populaire.*
- The failure—this above all others—of German labor to prevent the triumph of Hitlerism.

Even so, during the closing days of World War II, Stalin—with his instinctive emphasis on mass-pressures (outside the USSR itself)—decided to try again to mobilize world labor for the same role which it refused to perform during the previous decade.

Behind this decision were the proddings of A. A. Kuznetsov, nominal boss of all Russia's trade unions, and Solomon Lozovsky, their real boss. An old-time Bolshevik whose standing in the Party hierarchy is second only to that of a Politbureau member, Lozovsky is Stalin's personal surrogate in all matters of Russian labor.

Lozovsky presides over an intricate and farflung machinery devoted to pervasive and large-scale Russian efforts to achieve an eventual coalition of the world's labor movements under Russian direction. The Kremlin regards this coalition as the only reliable instrument of world revolution. Its table of organization envisions a willing and pliable network composed first, of national labor organizations, such as the TUC in Britain, the CGT in France, the CGIL in Italy; and second, of regional federations such as Lombardo Toledano's defunct Confederation of Latin American Workers. The WFTU was to become the holding-company for all these labor groups.

To gain his goal, the policy-making Foreign Department of the All-Russian Trade Unions was given a power in foreign affairs that equals, when it does not surpass, that exercised by the ministry of Foreign Affairs *(Minindel)* itself.

This immense influence is reflected by the fact that the Trade Unions' official daily, *Trud,* rather than *Pravda* or *Izvestia,* is the USSR's most authoritative voice in foreign affairs; and that its official monthly, *New Times,* rather than the Central Committee's own *Bolshevik,* is the Soviet Government's final word in the direction and implementation of its foreign policy.

Solomon Lozovsky personally supervises the activities of the Trade Unions' Foreign Department and the editorial administration of *Trud* and *New Times.* The latter is the successor of *War and the Working Class,* which was the descendant of the *Communist International,* monthly guide for Comintern agents.

Even more important, the Labor Department of the new Cominform, its only division with headquarters in Moscow, is also headed by Mr. Lozovsky.

Russian WFTU organizers were given special courses in the top-secret Strike School of the Cominform (Akademia Utca 5, Budapest, Hungary). They were instructed that, at the psychological moment, the workers of the world should be called out in a global general strike as a preface to global revolution.

This was the blueprint. But Mr. Lozovsky didn't deliver. By the fall of 1946, Russian disappointment with the WFTU was already keen and articulate. On October 29 of that year, Molotov could hardly wait to plead the case of the WFTU before the UN General Assembly:

"One would think it quite natural for the United Nations to establish friendly ties with the international organization of trade unions which has come into being in recent years and which embraces tens of millions of workers in various countries," he said. "This is particularly essential for the Social and Economic Council [sic], which cannot successfully carry out its functions unless it has the support of such mass democratic organizations as the World Federation of Trade Unions.

"In actual fact, however, the situation is entirely different," Molotov went on. "Up to now the World Federation of Trade Unions has not been associated with the daily activities of the Social and Economic Council. But that is not all. Is it proper that it has been granted the same terms of representation in the Social and Economic Council as the International Automobile Association, the National Association of Dried Fruit Retailers, etc.? Is it not high time to correct this situation which is out of keeping with the elementary principles of democracy?"

But Molotov's sardonic speech was no sign of despair.

SOVIET LABOR BOSS LOZOVSKY

Despite the defections of unions in Western Europe, in Latin America and in the US, the WFTU continues to function in accord with Kremlin-made plans.

Solomon Lozovsky, with his professorial mien, his scorpion wit, his goatee—that mark of the Soviet man of distinction—has thus far survived his failure. Stalin attributes Lozovsky's lack of success, not to any personal shortcomings or to defects in the overall strategy, but to the stupidity, immaturity and spinelessness of labor outside the USSR's orbit.

Labor's New World Union, outlined by Mr. Murray in the accompanying article, must face as its major challenge the task of proving Mr. Stalin wrong. H. H.

The Secret Services: Part 2

Battle Order of World Espionage

The Medium Powers and the Small States

COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE services everywhere are working overtime to meet the challenge of an enormously souped-up espionage activity in all parts of this troubled postwar world. The fact that every day, around the globe, spies are being caught, does not indicate either that they are less able or less secret today than in the past, or that counter-intelligence services are more adroit. It rather indicates that the sheer quantity of operatives has risen unprecedentedly. The first installment of this Battle Order estimated a world total of 40-44,000 major, full-time operatives (The Big Three, June UNW). Since then it has been ascertained that according to an estimate prepared for the United Kingdom's Ministry of Defense, there are today more than 250,000 actual or potential spies. By contrast, in 1938, a particularly critical year of international tension, the number of secret operatives was no more than 12,000 of whom 5,500 were maintained by Nazi Germany.

The spread of espionage as a full-time vocation in large measure derives from the ambitions and aspirations of newcomers in this field, notably small and medium sized powers. Their sudden realization of their own importance is best reflected by their elephantine intelligence services. Thus, for example, Hungary, whose secret service was less than a shoe-string operation even during her conflicts with Czechoslovakia and Rumania, now spends millions in hard-to-come-by currency on a network which is out of all proportion to the country's size, interests, and national income.

The mushroom spread of postwar espionage, the immense sums expended on it, and the participation in it of virtually every country on the face of the earth, has summoned forth a form of aggressive intelligence which represents an acute threat to peace. Operatives are frequently getting out of control, and to justify their existence, themselves *create* conditions and incidents which they then exaggerate in reports to their home governments. There is a move afoot within the higher councils of the United Nations to investigate the anomalous situation of governments pledging peace and waging that war between the wars which is espionage. Some delegates to the UN are increasingly convinced that the Security Council should occupy itself at an early date with the perilous implications of this expansion of clandestine aggression and apply to it the same sanctions which the Charter prescribes for open aggression or the threat of it.

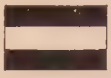
ARGENTINA

THE first major espionage network maintained on a global scale by any South American country is that of President Perón's Argentina. It is the streamlined and well-oiled successor to the Intelligence Branch that the Colonels' Clique introduced in Argentine political life. It has now been enlarged to unprecedented proportions with state funds and with the full support of the entire state apparatus. It centers in the Investigation Division of the Department of the Presidency which is, in fact, the central intelligence agency of Argentina for both internal and external affairs. Until June 11, 1949, it was headed by a notorious Nazi named Freude, son of Argentina's number one Nazi. He was retained by Perón in this critical position despite remonstrations by the United States. Another important intelligence figure is General Von der Becke, Perón's personal representative in the United States and the head of an effective pro-Argentine lobby in North America. Peronista secret agents are scattered throughout the hemisphere. They use their diplomatic cover and pattern their activities after the methods of totalitarianism. They spy on both the countries to which they are accredited, and Argentine nationals living abroad, including members of their own Embassy staff. Most of the secret intelligence work abroad is assigned to Service Attaches who abound in all Argentine missions. For example, Argentina's Washington Embassy

has 13 military, naval and air attaches, who comprise exactly 50 per cent of the entire Embassy staff. Most important bases of Argentine espionage next to the US are Chile, Venezuela, Spain, France and Italy, forming the strategic corners of a gigantic triangle from Rome to Caracas to Buenos Aires. Within this triangle Peronista political aspirations are directed toward the creation of a new Latino Empire. To this dream, rather than to Argentina's immediate international interests is the work of the Peronista spy ring dedicated. Its menace is nevertheless real and immediate.

FRANCE

THE two classic intelligence organizations of France, the Second and Fifth Bureaus of the French General Staff, have survived two wars virtually intact and without organizational change—but with their political influence considerably diminished. French secret intelligence had its halcyon days half a century ago when, coincident with the political power of a rightist General Staff, it employed its clandestine methods for political purposes. • The setback suffered in the wake of the Dreyfus incident—the exposure of major intelligence officers as debt-ridden adventurers and the revelation of violent prejudices within the 2nd Bureau—led to an overhaul of the entire organization. The result was a substantial increase in its efficiency and reliability. • Its present-day standing is enhanced by (a) its record of accurate prognostications prior to World War II; (b) the high quality of its intelligence reports and current analyses; (c) the personal integrity of its high command and its full-time operatives; (d) the businesslike honesty of its operational methods; (e) its valuable patriotic contribution to the work of the Resistance and Allied Intelligence during World War II. • Although the General Staff's Second Bureau is generally regarded as the synonym for French Intelligence, its little-publicized Fifth Bureau (in charge of CI) also has major positive intelligence functions and is, in fact, responsible for whatever "action" functions are assigned to French Intelligence. • In addition, the Colonial Ministry has its two corresponding Bureaus, with branches. Their record is remarkable. In 1939, an agent's report, picked up in Indo-China, described in exact detail the network of Nazi airfields encroaching on French territory. This, one of the major scoops of pre-war French Intelligence, was disregarded by Generals Gamelin and Georges of the High Command. • A recent addition to French Intelligence are the Interior Ministry's top-secret Second and Fifth Bureaus whose international activities are confined to espionage on the Cominform branch of Soviet Intelligence (UNW, June). • Naval Intelligence has a secondary role and is largely in charge of attachés abroad. • Political Intelligence is regarded as one of the major functions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which has several branches devoted to this specific task. Co-ordination is the responsibility of Section 3 of Department II, which collates intelligence reports and prepares them for the Cabinet via the Foreign Minister. Collection work is entrusted to the various "desks" under the Director General of Political Affairs (Department III) as well as to a Press Department (Section 5) whose External Services have some applied Intelligence responsibilities. (Section 4 is in charge of American Affairs, Subsection D of Section 1 deals with the USSR and Eastern Europe.) • Cultural Intelligence, an important part of the French Intelligence coverage, is also in the Foreign Ministry (Department VI), but largely autonomous in its activities and funds. • Radio intelligence, including positive and negative cipher work and monitoring service, is in charge of MM. Duranthon and Clermont, two of the world's most brilliant cryptographers. • French Intelligence personnel has a genuine passion for anonymity, in contrast to the *ad hoc* intelligence officers who used to clutter up General de Gaulle's GHQ during WW II. De Gaulle's wartime chief, the notorious Colonel Passy, is still a sinister figure in French domestic politics.



HUNGARY

LONG trained in intrigue and military intelligence against its neighboring states of the defunct Little Entente, Hungarian intelligence goes full steam ahead for its new master, the Russians. It comprises an intricate network, composed of political, military and police intelligence. Top spy master of Communist dominated Hungary is General George Palfy-Oesterreicher, disgruntled officer of the reactionary Hungarian General Staff. He devoted himself to his new task with the familiar zeal of the renegade. Brains of the Hungarian Intelligence Service is a Colonel Gath, also an ex-staff member of Regent Horthy's defunct army, a non-political intelligence bureaucrat who serves any master with equal fervor. Political intelligence is supervised for HIS by Elek Bolgar, diplomatic analyst of the Comintern. Hungary's Washington Legation under former Comintern agent Andrew Sik, is the main source of Soviet intelligence network on most matters pertaining to Negro questions.

POLAND

THE Polish Secret Service network with its traditionally superior espionage is the Eastern European archtype maintained by a medium power with inordinate ambitions in international affairs and leaning heavily on secret agents to advance its aims. Poles were long prominent as operatives in the service of foreign powers (especially Austria-Hungary, and France). They were active both in the Tsarist secret police and the anti-Tsarist underground. Both groups later formed the nucleus for an independent intelligence service which Marshal Pilsudski established in the early nineteen twenties. During the period between the two World Wars, Polish intelligence was busiest, spying on friend and foe, on France as on Germany, on Czechoslovakia as on Russia. Intelligence activities were intensified after 1933, developing into a spy network second to none. The climax, the Götterdämmerung of Polish espionage, was reached in 1934 in the Sosnovsky case. Ace operative Kasimir Sosnovsky infiltrated the highest Berlin society. Using conventional secret service methods, including

the amorous techniques of an accomplished *bon vivant*, he established contact with top ranking confidential secretaries in the Nazi War Office Operations and Deployment Division. From them he obtained virtually all secrets of the German military establishment, including the first anti-Polish deployment plan drafted under Hitler and blueprints of all German military aircraft. His spy ring was exposed through the indiscretion of a female operative. Sosnovsky was exchanged for four German spies held in Poland; his German accomplices, including two society women, were beheaded. This, and the fact that Sosnovsky overspent the secret funds of Polish espionage, terminated its halcyon days. But international intrigue centering in the Warsaw Foreign Office's Political Intelligence Division continued throughout World War II and even in exile.

During the war, Polish spies provided invaluable intelligence to the Allies, especially on German troop movements and chemical warfare preparations. Polish Intelligence Service was then part of the British Intelligence network. Today it is under complete Soviet domination. In fact, PIS forms an integral part of Soviet espionage charged with special assignments utilizing the world wide dispersion of ex-Polish nationals. Undersecretary of State Jakub Berman is top co-ordinator of all Polish spy activities. Political intelligence is in charge of General Vladislas Grosz of the Foreign Office. Among top-ranking military intelligence personnel the following has been identified: Major General Kolmar, in charge of the US section.

RUMANIA

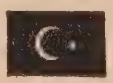
THE grave internal crisis of this country interferes with the efficiency of its external espionage work which is in charge of War Minister Emil Bednares, an intimate of Anna Pauker, trained in various spy schools of the Soviet Union.

SWEDEN

NEXT to Switzerland, but without the former's unique sources (q.v.), Sweden maintains the Continent's most ambitious and, in certain respects, most effective intelligence organization. It utilizes both overt methods and undercover agents, the latter forming a finely woven net covering virtually the whole of Eastern Europe, as well as certain spots in Eastern Africa (Ethiopia) and Asia (India, Iran and, with some Danish agents, Siam). Above all, Swedish Intelligence specializes in Soviet affairs and is believed to possess more comprehensive and reliable information on the USSR than any other comparable organization in the world. Joint Political and Economic Intelligence is pursued along overt diplomatic lines, within the Foreign Ministry (under the supervision of S. Grafström and K. Böök for political and economic affairs, respectively). Far more important, however, is the Swedish General Staff's strategic intelligence service with an independent secret organization for limited undercover work. Naval Intelligence, while adequate for Sweden's naval responsibilities, has no significance beyond Scandinavian waters. Economic intelligence, neglected under Socialist supervision, nevertheless produces remarkable results through world-wide contacts of private firms. Swedish newspapers are among best-informed in the world, with full-time foreign correspondents at many important world centers, contributing to over-all enlightenment of Swedish people and government.

SWITZERLAND

IN ACCORDANCE with its strategic location, precarious diplomatic position and economic significance, Switzerland is forced to maintain an intelligence organization far out of proportion to its size, resources and normal international responsibilities. Highly efficient in both positive and negative intelligence, Swiss operatives amass invaluable data without ever using them offensively. They are filed in Berne for future reference or exchanged with friendly powers if not privileged through source of origin (*i.e.*, resulting from activities as protective power or from International Red Cross). Unique sources of Swiss Intelligence include own nationals occupying positions of industrial, financial and intellectual leadership abroad; hotel experts, waiters and chefs scattered throughout the world in employment with high intelligence potentials; financial circles in Zurich, Basel and Berne with widespread international contacts; domestic personnel connected with tourist trade. Two-pronged intelligence organization: • Section I, Branch 2, of the Federal Political Department (Foreign Office) under personal supervision of Permanent Under Secretary Alfred Zehnder • Section III-B of Federal Defense Department.



TURKEY

THIS strategic country maintains a highly developed network of intelligence, but no top-level co-ordination. Political Intelligence is centered in the Foreign Ministry in Ankara (Second Section of First Department), under personal supervision of Deputy Director General Hilmi Bayur. Military and Naval Intelligence, with efficient attaché network, within higher staffs. Turkish national security depends on effective intelligence work which, consequently, is largely positive without aggressive designs. Negative intelligence is regarded as function of police and alien control. Istanbul is center of non-Turkish international espionage of the glamor-spy variety, which flourishes in the lobbies of Pera Palace and Tokatlyan, yielding mass of unreliable data at depressed rates. In contrast, Turkey's own intelligence output is highly reliable, especially on southern areas of the Soviet Union, on Middle East, and Afghanistan. During World War II, Turkish intelligence served Allies well, especially with hard-to-get information on Japan.

BRITONS in Bathing Suits

At their watering places the British are even more British than in town with vests and bowlers on

By TIBOR KOEVES
UNW's Travel Editor

BEAUTY ON AN ENGLISH BEACH IS NOT ALWAYS INANIMATE

IF THE British coastline could be unkinked into a neat and reasonable thing, like the US-Canadian border, it would stretch from New York to Los Angeles and two thirds of the way back again. Instead, in leisurely and wonderfully intricate fashion, it contains only a region so small it could easily be mislaid in Texas. The sea, in consequence, is not only in every Briton's blood, but in his backyard as well; and he likes to spend his vacation reassuring himself that he is still surrounded by water. Hence, the enormous popularity of the scores of thriving resort towns that dot the line where the sea begins.

Seaside resorts of present-day model are comparative innovations.

In 1851, for instance, Bournemouth was a sleepy little village of 695 people. Today its population is over 140,000. Brighton, 60 train-minutes from London, one of the largest and most popular of Britain's spas, got off to a royal start in 1784 when the Prince of Wales, later George IV, built a palace there—an oriental excrescence by John Nash, the great architect of the Regency.

Up to that time Brighton had been Brighthelmstone, a great place for herrings and little else. Originally it had been given to one of William the Conqueror's knights as a manor and had to provide the ruler with 4,000 herrings a year. But when the jovial Germanic Prince of Wales moved in, the place was changed forever. "Prinny" was handsome, gallant, and a great one for giving boisterous parties for his lady love, Maria Fitzherbert. Soon the lighter portion of fashionable London flocked in the wake of the gay son of a somber monarch, and before you could say "*Honi soit qui mal y pense,*" Brighton's fame was established. Today it is a town of 150,000, and a fun spot for millions.

Whatever the origin of England's watering places, however, all of them have a distinct and characteristic family resemblance, conspicuously fashioned after the demands of the British Middle Classes. And that means, first of all, that "frivolity" in the style of the French Riviera for instance, is noticeably absent from the daily, and nightly, life. No Bikini bathing suits on England's beaches, no gambling fever, no carousing.

The evident truth is that when they go vacationing, the British simply transport their quiet family life,

BRITONS in Bathing Suits

continued

their reserve, their distant politeness and their self-centered impersonality to the chosen resorts. Aversion to excess, mistrust of originality and enjoyment of traditions and conventions characterize the good British subject even during the short few weeks when he is getting away from it all.

The physical appearance of the resort towns falls in with the Englishman's eager acceptance of the familiar and his quiet scorn of the unconventional. Whether the bookkeeper from Manchester, the solicitor from Chichester or the physician from Leeds takes his dutiful wife and well-mannered kids to Skegness, Frinton, Folkestone, Southend or Margate on the East Coast, to Hythe, Hastings, Bognor Regis, Bournemouth, Weymouth, Falmouth, Penzance on the South Coast, to Newquay, St. Ives, Weston-super-Mare, Lynton or Aberystwyth on the West Coast, or any other spot, he expects to find a number of familiar features which reassure him that, through wars and changing governments, there will always be a seaside England, and it will always be the same.

First and foremost, every seaside resort of any pretensions has a pier, which is the very soul of the place. These steel and wood jetties, cluttered up by booths and buildings and pavilions serving the most varied purposes, are allegedly designed to serve as embarkation points for deep-draught pleasure steamers.

But the British so love their piers that, even if the town possesses a perfectly good port, it usually has a pier anyway. And there the sunburned landlubber foregathers — perhaps merely to contemplate the waves which Britannia long ruled, without the risk of getting wet or seasick.

Most piers have a theater, usually perched with histrionic bravado slap at the seaward end. Here a "concert party" puts on a show that is a cross between a vaudeville and a "smoking concert."

The concert party may include a wide variety of performers, but there's always a baritone, a comedian, a soprano and a chorus. And talent is often as surprisingly high as admission prices are low—by American standards. Some of the more ambitious piers have dance halls too, and all have peep shows. For a penny you can see exactly what the butler saw, or watch macabre mechanical puppets perform an execution.

There is, of course, a grim and constant competition between resorts for ownership of the longest pier. Southend, London's Coney Island, is in the lead at the moment with one and a half miles of pierage.

Next to the pier as a clotting point for holiday-makers is the bandstand, which generally sits, like a huge birdcage without bars, on the promenade or in the center of one of the public parks. Bands are of that robust type called military, but there is no marching. The British, unlike the Teuton, take their music lying down, preferably in a deckchair which you can hire for threepence.

Because the musicians have to compete with gusty sea breezes, selections are usually from the lustier operas, such as *William Tell* and *Il Trovatore*, and there is an acute accent on the brass section. You only get the woodwind subtleties of Debussy on the calmest day. Admission, like musical arrangements, is usually free. There appears to be a private contest among conductors to see who can grow the fiercest waxed mustaches. The points of several seaside maestros can be seen from behind.

There was a time, not too long ago, when the British blushed all over at the thought of bathing in public, and at some resorts you can still find the bathing machines that are relics of those prudish days. These "machines" were really dinky little cabins on wheels.

Inside the machine milady bathed, stepping out of her crinoline and lace jungle of underclothes without revealing her charm to anyone but the intrepid old horse which pulled the machine into the sea to a suitable depth. The horse, unlike the dashing young blades of the time, knew where to stop and, of course, wore blinkers. Nowadays, as elsewhere, pulchritude is public and suntan hides no blushes. The bathing is almost consistently good, and for those who like their ocean ironed flat, there are some very *soigné* open-air pools.

On the vast, lovely beach of Filly on the North Sea, British vacationists not only swim, ride, play and rest, but also find time to attend a missionary rally.

Other loves of the British that find major expression in their resorts are fish and chips, palm courts and seaweed.

The first are served in the ever-present fish bars, where the cod, haddock or skate ranges from superb to very good, and comes clothed in a golden bread-crumb coat. You collect your food yourself, sprinkle it with vinegar, and either repair to one of the tables or take it with you to the beach. The cost of such ambrosia is not more than a quarter a portion.

Palm courts are the natural habitat of tea-and-toast and string orchestras. Ferns, friends and fiddles all meet here for a delightful and wholly unnecessary meal about four o'clock in the afternoon. Lovers hold hands, former colonial officers exchange experiences, and hypochondriacs compare operations to the lilt of Saint-Saens and the suavity of Sullivan. The pale hedonism and empiric wisdom of a score of professional holiday-makers are punctuated only by the elegant tinkle of tea-spoons. The palm court presents a scene so convincingly English that all the novel addict would miss is the sudden announcement by a grave and quiet Inspector that the Vicar's beautiful sister has just been poisoned by unknown hands.

The sea probably smells more as it ought to smell in Britain than in any other place in the world. This has something to do with the prevalance of seaweed, which Britons love unashamedly. They pluck it like flowers, with tender respect. There's a kind with black blisters on it that snaps, crackles and pops better than anything Mr. Kellogg ever invented.

The demands of the public at large may have provided England's resort towns with institutions and features which are uniform and ubiquitous; behind the common facade, however, each place also has a distinct individuality, product of history and of nature. There are too many of them to be mentioned singly, but the Brit-

BLACKPOOL, called "Liverpool's Coney Island," on a good day is jam-packed with holidaying Englishmen—and women.

BRITONS in Bathing Suits

continued

ish Travel Association in New York knows all the answers. Here are, however, a few samples of what individuality means as far as England's resorts are concerned.

Brighton, a case of heredity, surely, has always been England's uninhibited playground. Its very inception was marked by scandals. Many of the town's more respectable families evacuated in order to avoid witnessing the reckless goings on when the profligate Prince of Wales and his boon companions set up headquarters there. In later years Brighton was to remain a dispenser of excitement, a center of attraction for dubious elements, racing mobs, and even the theater of organized crime.

For many decades the 50 miles of road between London and Brighton has been a favorite course for spectacular races and sporting events, among them the historic first automobile race in 1896 after the enactment of the Light Locomotive Act authorized mechanical traction up to 14 miles an hour. Another was the baby carriage competition in 1923 in which mothers frantically raced perambulators complete with infants.

Eastbourne, in contrast, is a close neighbor of Brighton, but excess is unimaginable there. Laid out in the latter part of the last century on the estate of the seventh Duke of Devonshire, Eastbourne tries desperately to be dignified and exclusive. Before the First War it repeatedly petitioned the railway company not to issue cheap daily return tickets from London, and it took legal steps to prevent the Salvation Army from playing music in the streets on Sundays, which it considered the height of frivolity. Not before 1923 did the town council authorize sea bathing, band performances and the running of busses on the Sabbath, and then only after a most passionate series of debates. Eastbourne is still quite willing to let Brighton have the multitudes and the fly by night masses.

Nature has made Torquay the Riviera of England. Lying in the recess of the Great West Bay 190 miles southwest from London, it is built on seven green hills rising in terraces. Its white villas are surrounded by a luxurious sub-tropical vegetation, and in the Abbey Park or the Princess Gardens camelias, narcissus, jasmin, violets, eucalypti bloom around the year in the soft, warm air.

Everything here, the sunshine, the gorgeous colors, the bright sky, the sheltered and calm little bays, the excellent hotels, seem to have predestined the place for galas, festivals, a succession of carnivals. This "orchid planted among buttercups," as it has been well-described, should by all rights be the very background for joy and pleasures, for an almost pagan education of the heart and the senses.

The truth is, however, that subtropical climate or not, and notwithstanding the elegance of the palms and the scent of the jasmin, Torquay is still in England. The language used by the Official Guide in describing this earthly paradise reveals the whole story:

"Torquay would appear to be the town best beloved by the normal Briton, since its visitors consist almost entirely of folk who desire of Life only those things which are good, and wholesome and lacking of complexity. Vulgarians whose idea of a holiday is compounded of Big Wheels, paper caps, donkeys, tin whistles and generally a remorseless harlequinade, turn their backs on the town. The residue, the thoroughly normal, healthy and educated love Torquay as few other towns are loved."

Perhaps it takes great courage and greater honesty to be so utterly simple in an age of burdensome if not tragic complexities. The manifesto of Torquay's municipal hosts tells the tale of a very real England. And if you belong to a non-English "residue" of the thoroughly normal and healthy, you may be among those for whom a vacation at an English resort will mean not frustration and restlessness, but utter rest, and peace, and even a slow, introversive happiness.

Points for Travelers to England

1. EXCHANGE—$4.03 to the pound (sterling).

2. VISAS—No visa is required for United States citizens. A valid passport is necessary.

3. PASSAGE AND HOTEL RESERVATIONS—Should be booked as far ahead as possible. The services of a travel agent save you time and trouble at no extra cost.

4. GASOLINE ALLOWANCE—Visitors taking a car to the United Kingdom or buying a new one there for subsequent export, get enough gasoline to take them from their port of arrival or the place of delivery, to their furthest destination and back. In addition, the following allowances are made: First two weeks 600 miles. Second two weeks 400 miles. Second and third *months* 300 miles per month.

5. CAR-HIRE—Overseas visitors may drive as far as they like in rented automobiles.

6. COST OF LIVING—As in America, varies considerably according to activities and location, but comfortable accommodation can be obtained in most parts of Britain at rates varying anywhere between $25 and $60 per week, American Plan.

7. RAIL TRAVEL—Excellent. Approximately seven cents per mile, first-class. Four cents a mile third-class. Tourists' "circular" trip tickets 25% less.

8. BUS TRAVEL—Excellent. Approximately two cents a mile.

9. FOOD RATIONING—Travelers whose stay does not exceed 56 days do not have to have ration documents.

10. INFORMATION—Illustrated literature and detailed advice from the British Travel Association, 336 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. and from British Railways, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y. 20, N. Y.

WORLD TRADE *section*

*Leon H. Keyserling tells how America can be made depression-proof →

U.S. Industrial Production—Base: 1935–39 Average = 100

July, 1949

Strategy for a DEPRESSION-PROOF America

"This is a propitious time to express and fortify the view that the United States has an excellent chance of escaping another serious depression as this term is commonly understood. This suggests that those who have been counting on this dismal outcome had better re-examine their assumptions, while those who have been fearing it have cause to take heart."

By LEON H. KEYSERLING

Vice-Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers

THE eyes of thoughtful people throughout the world are riveted upon the United States economy—partly in admiration and wonderment; and partly in scepticism, expectancy or concern.

The admiration and wonderment are based upon the phenomenal organizing and productive power of an economy which outdistanced all expectations during the war, and which since the war has already registered a per capita output for a growing population more than 50 per cent higher than in the best year before the war. Adjusting for changes in the price level, gross output in the United States increased from 84.3 billion dollars in 1929 and 90.4 billion dollars in 1939 to 148 billion dollars in 1948 (1939 prices). The figure for 1949 as a whole will undoubtedly be lower than for 1948, but it will probably be within 5 per cent of last year. And that is still stupendous.

The scepticism, expectancy or concern arises from realization that the size and power of an economy do not necessarily measure its stability; that the unique degree of integration within the American economy which has made it so vigorous has in the past also made it vulnerable to shock; and that serious recessions or depressions have occurred with sufficient frequency to give them the air of something inevitable even though their timing has not been regular or predictable. The relatively mild "softening" of employment and production thus far in 1949 has already served to accentuate in many minds this dependence on the past as a guide to the future. Some observers have even been prone to forget the question, "Is there going to be another depression?" and to substitute the question, "When is it coming?"

This is a propitious time to express and to fortify the view that the United States has an excellent likelihood of escaping another depression as that term is commonly understood. This suggests that those who have been counting on this dismal outcome had better re-examine their assumptions, while those who have been fearing it have cause to take heart.

To be sure, there may be—although there does not *need* to be—some further decreases in employment or declines in production during the remainder of 1949 and on into 1950. And while efforts can and should be made to avert or mitigate these trends, the United States economy could not achieve absolute stability without losses in flexibility, freedom and dynamic quality which

would outweigh any possible benefits.

Every mild undulation of business activity within a range of 5 to 10 per cent should not be called a depression, even though we should seek to reduce such swings and to ameliorate the hardships they engender. In 1933, average unemployment was almost 13 million (and much higher at the peak) out of a civilian labor force of 51½ million. In 1939, unemployment averaged 9½ million out of a labor force of slightly over 55 million. Unemployment at the present time is now somewhat over 3 million, out of a labor force of about 62 million.

These contrasts provide perspective, although the situation now is not as good as in 1948 when unemployment averaged about 2 million. For rough purposes of discussion, we might say that a situation in the United States could not be called one of substantial depression at any time when unemployment has not exceeded 6 million for at least a year, although the national policy of continuous maximum employment to which we are committed under the Employment Act of 1946 propels us to strive at all times toward holding unemployment well below the current level of above 3 million. It is in terms of these magnitudes that reference has been made to the excellent likelihood of escaping another depression in the United States at any time in the visible future.

The assumption in some quarters of the eventual advent of another American depression is considerably rooted in neglect to evaluate four very important factors:

1. There is an easy tendency to assimilate the postwar inflationary boom to other booms which in the past have been followed by collapse, without allowing for essential differences in the respective over-all economic situations.

2. There is a tendency to overlook or underestimate some clear and immensely significant reinforcements which have been built permanently into the economic structure, a few of which have already been tested in this postwar period and had their worth proved.

3. There is a failure to appraise or a positive misinterpretation of the attitudes of the American people and their government; and this has led some to believe erroneously that we would again be unduly slothful or divided in applying anti-depression action should it again become necessary.

4. Most important of all, insufficient weight has been attached to our impressive commitment to and partial embarkment upon affirmative national policies for expansion and growth which transcend mere efforts—important though these are—to prevent decline or to deal with it vigorously after it occurs.

Careful re-evaluation of these four

1948 FIGURES IN 1939 DOLLARS

	1939	1948
Dollar	100¢	57¢
National Income	$72.5	$127.9
Exports	3.2	$ 7.2
Imports	$2.3	$ 4.1
Wage and Salaries	$45.7	$ 76.6
629 industrial corps. **Net Profits**	$ 1.5	$ 2.6

IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS

COST OF LIVING INDEX (1935-1939 = 100)

	1939	1949*
Rent	104.3	120.3
Food	95.2	202.8
Clothing	100.5	192.5
Unemployment	8.8 in millions	3.0

**As of April, 1949.*

Strategy for a DEPRESSION-PROOF America *continued*

factors supports the conclusion that, while the future is not without its difficulties, the basic outlook for the American economy is bright.

How This Boom Differed

less wild speculation

less overpricing

more collective bargaining

fewer mass layoffs

First of all, the postwar inflationary boom in the United States between the end of World War II and 1949 has been different in character as well as in size from some of the previous booms with which it has been uncritically compared.

True, there have been some similarities. During this more recent inflationary period we witnessed:

■ An upward rush of price levels of almost all kinds accompanied by huge postwar backlogs and wartime savings, which made it easy to maintain distribution of maximum output without the price-cost adjustments required for sustained peacetime prosperity.

■ The cost of living rose more rapidly than the incomes of millions of families, thus piling up consumer-income problems which could not remain permanently unresolved.

■ The level of business investment during reconversion assumed a higher ratio to total spending than could be maintained indefinitely.

■ Government outlays were higher than could be expected to last, at least relative to the total spending needs of the country for sustained full employment.

These conditions, so similar to earlier postwar booms, nourished the thinking of those who felt that in the absence of correctives the boom was propelling itself in the direction of a bust.

It should be admitted candidly that these rather traditional and self-defeating characteristics of the boom, in the absence of the anti-inflationary measures which President Truman proposed in 1947 and recurrently thereafter, but which in the main were not enacted, have begun to take toll in 1949.

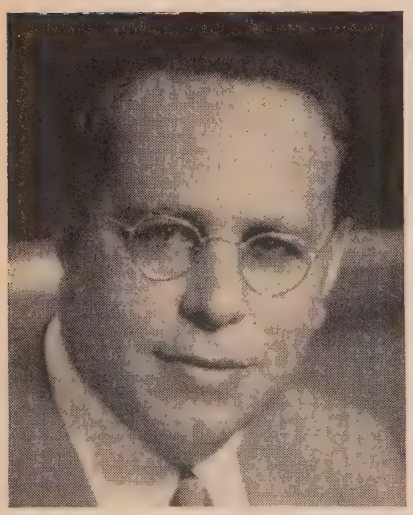
As already indicated, unemployment is higher, production lower, and the general temper and tempo of business more uncertain. But note should also be taken that the post-World War II economic situation has varied in some vital respects from previous inflationary booms and, with these variants being mo on the favorable side, the reac has thus far been less severe. Am the key variants have been the sence in large measure during inflationary period of wild or reck speculation, and the absence o spiraling of private indebtedn The boom, in other words, has b less "artificial" than past booms a has to a larger extent reflected ge ine growth trends.

An even more important favora item, contrasted with earlier perio has been exhibiting itself in th myriads of business decisions, b individual and collective, which c stitute the workings of a private e terprise system no longer operati on the classic model of "automa interplay of pure competitive forces

■ There has been much overpricin but many industries have deliberate charged less than the traffic wou bear, thus revealing an improv understanding of general economi plus an augmented appreciation their wiser course in self-interest a in the national interest.

■ Some wages have risen too fa and others not fast enough, but wag policy as determined mainly throug collective bargaining has becom more sophisticated and on the whol more intelligent than it used to b

Consequently, while distortion and maladjustments were create during the postwar inflationar boom, they were probably not a extreme as in previous booms. Th importance of this improved "mana gerial" direction of the private en



LEON H. KEYSERLING

Mr. Truman's Political Economist

In the three-man Council of Economic Advisers, who mould US economic destiny to an ever-increasing extent, Mr. Edwin G. Nourse (65) is the expert on economy; Mr. John D. Clark (64) is the expert on politics; Mr. Leon H. Keyserling (41) is the expert on political economy. Far more than his colleagues Mr. Keyserling is concerned with the reciprocal relationship between government act and business activity. He believes that they cannot be hermetically sealed off from each other.

Educated at Columbia (economics) and Harvard (law), Mr. Keyserling was for four years legislative assistant to Senator Robert F. Wagner (D. NY) and variously for five years general counsel, administrator and commissioner for US housing agencies. He has also served as consultant to the Senate Committees on Banking and Currency and Postwar problems, helping to prepare studies on public finance, public works, labor relations, housing, social security and employment. Solid, authoritative, resolute, he is the only New Dealer in the Council, one of the few survivors of that vanishing species to occupy a key place in Mr. Truman's Washington.

erprise system, commonly overlooked by those who rely solely upon compensatory government policies for the redress of an economic system which they believe to be irretrievably unstable, should constantly be stressed.

This improved operation of the enterprise system may be illustrated even more pointedly by the course of events thus far during 1949. The system, of course, has not been able to re-align the price-cost relationships which developed during inflation without any increases in unemployment or declines in production, and that would be too much to ask of it. But perhaps no previous period can be identified where such substantial re-adjustments in prices have taken place with so small an acceleration of unemployment or retardment of production relative to the size of the economy.

While sentiment is by no means universal, there is a predominant realization that price declines, instead of being viewed with alarm and made the basis for severe contraction of confidence and enterprise on a cumulative basis, should instead be treated as means of sustaining high-volume activity. There is increasing recognition that efforts to sustain profits by drastic cuts in employment costs or business outlays are playing with fire, that it is safer for profits to travel a rough road for a while than to put the labor force through the wringer, and that in the long run profits will turn out satisfactorily if a high volume of activity is maintained.

These attitudes, translated into practical behavior, were not so prevalent in those earlier periods of postwar readjustment which have provided superficial analogies. The changes which have taken place tend to make these analogies inaccurate or at least not compelling, and place us in a much better economic situation now than when recession commenced, for example, in 1920. It is quite within the range of possibility that, perhaps after some further softening in employment and production, an upward trend will be resumed before the downturn has approached challenging magnitudes.

At this point it should be stressed that the downturn which has thus far occurred has received sensational magnification in some places. Employment even now is about as high as in the unparalleled year 1948; the increase in unemployment has been due mainly to failure to provide additional jobs comparable to the net increase in the size of the labor force. Of course, the trend is more important than the absolute figures at any given time; but the quantitative extent to which a trend has progressed is certainly relevant to the question of whether its reversal presents manageable or insuperable problems.

The New Defenses

new laws for banking
tighter securities regulations
better home financing
farm price supports
greater social security
more rigid wage scales
federal spending programs

But let no one suppose that the behaviorist changes in the private enterprise system are the only factors, important though they are, which distinguish the current United States economy from the economy after World War I. The second major distinguishing factor results from the immensely important reinforcements which have been built into the structure to add to its shock-resistant capacity. Without endeavoring to weigh the relative importance of these, they may be catalogued as:

■ The financial and banking system, aside from the relative freedom from speculation and from an excessively expanding private debt as already referred to, has been strengthened and made more viable by the important reforms of the first New Deal Administration. Bank deposit insurance is the most popular embodiment of these changes.

■ The markets where securities are exchanged have been placed under improved external supervision, and have undergone a considerable amount of internal purification.

■ The changes in the structure of home financing, particularly in the relationship of carrying charges to incomes, has been profound. Mortgage practices, including amortization, interest, and treatment of defaults, have been vastly improved.

■ The agricultural price support program, regardless of differences about detail, has already promoted a far safer balance between industrial and agricultural income than we had after World War I. In early 1948, and again in 1949, the psychological as well as the literal effect of this program in the face of sharp breaks in farm prices did much to prevent such breaks from upsetting the economy after the manner of 1920.

■ Despite some disagreement on this point among technical economists, the weight of evidence seems clear that the more rigid wage structure which has resulted in part from union organization and in part from changes in popular thinking serves to prevent any economic downturn from being accelerated by thoughtless reductions in general purchasing power.

■ The various elements in the social security program, while not broad enough in coverage or sufficiently adequate in amount, plus a patchy but substantial congeries of "relief" systems, serve to cushion any economic downturn by supporting mass purchasing power.

■ The size of government outlays, ranging from 1/5 to 1/4 of total national outlays, introduces a stabilizing factor into the economy quite aside from the fact that their wide range of programs forms a base for expansion in case of need.

The People's Attitude

no more depressions
the conviction that mass unemployment and misery can, and must be forestalled

Yet it is not upon these reinforcements alone, even when combined with alterations in the operations of the enterprise system itself, that the case against the likelihood of a serious or prolonged recession in American economic activity primarily rests. For it might be said with considerable force that these reinforcements would be frail reeds to set against the stupendous impact of the cumulative forces of decline that can be generated by a 250 billion dollar economy. However, there is a third main factor of strength to be listed high in the accounting. This is the determination of the American people that they cannot afford another depression, that they do not need to have one, and that they will avoid

Strategy for a DEPRESSION-PROOF America *continued*

this calamity because they can and must.

Whatever may be the nature of the problem in other lands whose resources are terribly strained in relation to their population, the task of maintaining prosperity and moving toward improved standards of living is not an insuperable or even terribly difficult technical undertaking in the United States. The basic resources, skills and organizing ability are all present, the core machinery is at hand, the state of economic knowledge is adequate although not ideal, and the only residual question is the *will* to act.

This will to act is present in abundance. Some may think that it is not present because the necessary anti-inflationary program was not adopted after the war. Unfortunately, we have not yet learned fully, in the presence of superb prosperity, to take preventative action before a decline commences or to recognize completely the moral obligation to share that prosperity more equitably.

But let no one make the mistake of concluding from this that the will to act would ever again be lacking—as it was after 1929—in the presence of large-scale unemployment. In any such eventuality, factionalism and partisanship would melt, and the country would be even more united than in 1933.

The effort commencing 16 years ago was an experiment, resting only on the people's faith that something *should be tried*. Next time, if serious unemployment should come, the effort would be based upon the people's conviction that *something can be done*. Action would be taken, in full measure, long years before the economy descended to the depths which it reached in 1932. Further, that action would be as much more vigorous, and as much improved in scope and in detail over the action taken after 1933, as our general organization and management of the World War II effort excelled our efforts in World War I.

The American people may be slow in accepting new theories, but they are unequalled in applying tested principles toward practical achievement. The idea that we can and must maintain a reasonably stable economy is no longer an unaccepted theory in the United States. It is so fully accepted that only the abysmally uninformed will remain sceptical about its prompt application if and when the need arises.

Planning for Prosperity

full employment for industry
full employment for agriculture
long-range housing
resource and power development
by strengthening world economy

While recognizing the importance of the three main factors of strength which have been reviewed, there is a fourth which towers above all others. This is the ever-increasing appreciation that it is not enough to construct economic Maginot Lines against depression; that it is not enough to be determined to fight our way out of a valley of depression after we are there; but that instead we must forge affirmative programs for the constant expansion of the United States economy.

These programs need to be based upon clear conviction that no economy can be safe by standing still even at high levels of employment and production, that the law of economic life is to move ahead or fall behind, and that the American economy contains within itself the potentialities and therefore has the responsibility to grow steadfastly from year to year and to lift standards of living in the future even more rapidly than in the past.

The people recognize this principle of growth, not only because it is consistent with their native traditions and their overflowing energies, but also because movement in this direction is now an imperative of world conditions. Only thus can we fulfill our international responsibilities, and only thus can we so execute our responsibilities to ourselves as to serve as an example to others of the preme value of the democratic of life.

■ The Employment Act of 1946, haps the most significant dome legislation of this generation, c mits the people of the United Sta and all the resources of our gove ment to this principle of const growth. Already a variety of p grams has begun to take shape build the separate interrelated bri into the structure of an expandi economy, and many of these p grams have been proposed by Pre dent Truman for consideration the Congress and by the country.

■ An example is the comprehensi long-range housing program, alrea enacted by the Senate and likely become law this year.

■ Another example is the new far program presented by Secretary Agriculture Brannan, which, regar less of details, is in itself essentiall a "full employment" program fo agriculture to integrate the concep of agricultural abundance with th concept of abundance in all othe sectors of the economy.

■ Still other examples are the viril and imaginative plans now unde discussion for resource and powe development, and all those proposals such as the "Point Four" program which direct our initiative toward the upbuilding of the economies o other nations in the context of our aspirations to strengthen the world economy.

It is not in the nature of American institutions that all of these programs should be digested and adopted without debate or delay. Some of them may not move as fast as some of us would like to see them move, but the direction is clearly indicated and the outcome cannot be in doubt. Nor are these programs involving government action regarded as gradual inroads upon our system of private enterprise.

Quite as significant are those policies of President Truman which recognize that our country as a whole can be strong only if our enterprise system endures and prospers and expands. Illustrations of this are the concentration of effort upon proposals to encourage the expansion of private investment, plant and facilities, as well as proposals to develop wage and price and profit policies within the voluntary enterprise sys-

tem which will promote its stability and encourage its growth.

The American people want neither the dangers of absolutistic freedom nor the deadliness of absolutistic security.

They want to promote in a mixed economy the virtues both of free enterprise and of free government.

What the Economic Council is designed to do and has done

On the statute books of the US government is the Employment Act of 1946. Its objective: to achieve "maximum employment, production and purchasing power." Its pledge: to enable the Federal Government to "co-ordinate and utilize all its plans, functions and resources" to gain that goal. Its prerequisite: to conduct this whole effort "in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise" with the co-operation of industry, agriculture, labor, state and local governments.

When the Employment Act was under discussion, it was hailed in some quarters as the economic Magna Charta for the American people and denounced in other quarters as an arbitrary interference by government in the way the citizen earns his bread: As is usually the case in controversial measures, the Employment Act to date has neither fulfilled the hopes of its more ardent advocates nor the fears of its more feverish foes.

It has, however, done four things. (1) It has made the government, for the first time, responsible for the economic well-being of the individual. (2) It has given rise to a new kind of message from the White House, namely, the President's Economic Report to Congress which contains an over-all review and forecast of economic trends and conditions. (3) It has set up a Council of Economic Advisers to assist the President to prepare his economic reports and to advise him on developments within the national economy and on what the government should do to keep it strong and prosperous. (4) The Act establishes within the Congress itself a Joint Committee on the Economic Report which studies all findings sent to it by the President, and which submits to the Senate and the House its own recommendations.

In submitting the Third Annual Report of the Economic Council to Congress on January 7, 1949, President Truman declared:

"Our escape from the danger of a general recession in the spring of 1948 does not mean that no further dangers will appear, or that we can wait until they descend upon us in full force before taking wise preventive measures. We have been granted a breathing spell, but we have not been granted lasting prosperity without further effort and vigilance. So long as the rising course of incomes and activity continues, there will be in operation many of the forces which have been responsible for the long-sustained advance of prices. There are a few sectors of our economy where dangerous inflationary forces continue to be predominant. For example, the shortages of steel and electric power, and the steadily mounting costs of public utility services, add further to the higher costs of production which up to now have been rather readily passed on to the consuming public.

"The recent appearance of wider areas in the economy where supply conditions have improved, where the pressure of demand has been reduced, and where price inflation has been halted or reversed, should be looked upon as a desirable development to be welcomed rather than feared. It marks the beginning of the process by which a more stable condition can be reached after a long period of rising prices. But these adjustments have not proceeded far enough to justify a cessation of concern about inflation. Besides, a sharp and uneven adjustment of prices downward may cause dislocations quite as serious as the sharp and uneven movement of prices upward. Since both factors may be at work in different parts of the economy at the same time or in rapid sequence, we need to have available a range of governmental measures which can be applied as brake or as accelerator according to the need.

"While the prosperity of the postwar years has been great, it has rested in considerable part on somewhat temporary factors which were the aftermath of war.

". . . We are entering a period of harder tests. The momentum of war-created demand and war-created purchasing power has waned, and we must rely more fully on currently generated purchasing power to absorb a full output of goods and services. . . . I believe that prosperity can be continued and that, with proper action, the prospective volume of business investment, consumer spending and governmental transactions should promote ample employment opportunities for the coming year. But many adjustments in price and income relations need to be made, and these must flow mainly from the wise action of the leaders of our enterprise economy. These leaders should draw sustaining confidence from the fact that it is the policy of the Government under the Employment Act of 1946 to use all its resources to avoid depression and to maintain continuous prosperity.

"These favorable prospects will not be realized automatically. The strength of our economy, the strength of our great Nation, depends upon our capacity and willingness to adopt the salutary policies which are required by changing circumstances and to put them into effect."

As the tools of economic analysis and projection become more accurate, and as the Council perfects slowly and carefully its techniques for gathering and interpreting data which show the way we are going and why, the Council itself has become one of the most influential organs of government. Its reports are no longer merely pondered by Congress and by professional economists, but have indeed become guide-lines to the leaders of our economy, the business community, to the labor movement, to farmers, and to foreign governments, as well.

In the same way that the world watches decisions of the US military general staff as the guide on world security, the world watches the decisions of the US economic general staff—the President's Council of Economic Advisers—as the guide to American and, hence, world prosperity.

WHEN ECA ENDS Trouble Begins

The Marshall Plan cannot restore Europe's investment capital or the easy markets on its periphery

By FRITZ STERNBERG

IT SEEMS most unlikely that Europe's economic crisis can be solved by 1952.

Why? First of all because the crisis springs from a number of *other* causes in addition to the losses and devastations of the Second World War. Contrary to popular belief, the Second World War was not more costly for England and Western Europe than the First World War. In actual fact, the *direct* effects of the war were far less grave.

In the First World War the production of all the European belligerents, including the Western European countries, declined by more than one third; more than 10 years after the war, in 1928-29, England had barely returned to her peacetime production levels. In the First World War millions of Frenchmen and Englishmen fought on the Western Front for four years, and during all these years France was a battlefield. The military losses were enormous for both powers; England alone, exclusive of dominions and colonies, lost more than 800,000, France more than 1.2 millions.

The Second World War was very different in both these respects.

Throughout the last war British production held at about its peacetime figure. By 1948 that mark had been far exceeded.

Only in the first period of Hitler's *blitzkrieg* was England itself a battlefield. After Dunkerque the British did not fight on the Continent until the invasion four years later. Consequently, British military losses were barely a third as high as in the First World War.

France had large armies in the field only for a few weeks in the first phase of the war. French losses in dead were less than 200,000, barely a sixth of the losses in the First World War. In contrast to the First World War, France was not continuously a battlefield, and its production suffered far less. In direct consequence, by 1946 French production was only 6 per cent below peacetime.

But, if the military losses of England and France were so much smaller than in the First World War, if Western Europe has equalled and even surpassed its peacetime industrial production, how can we say that the crisis is so profound as to threaten the very existence of Europe?

This seeming paradox can only be understood if it is borne in mind that aside from the *direct* effects of the war, the European crisis is based on a factor which did not begin with the Second World War.

This factor is the total change in Europe's position.

During the whole of the last century, the economic development of Europe was different from that of the United States. The United States had conquered its own continent, it had always produced the major part of its food and raw materials.

During this same century, Western Europe became a factory for an industrially backward periphery four to five times as large as itself; it no longer produced its own food or raw materials, but became increasingly dependent on trade with this periphery. It dominated some of the countries of this periphery directly as colonies, and others indirectly through its industrial and financial power. Consequently, the parties in this trade were not equal.

To this periphery for which industrial Europe provided a factory, belonged: Russia, the countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, the colonial empires of the imperialist powers, and a number of nations which enjoyed a certain legal sovereignty but were in fact economically and politically dependent.

The sharp contrast between the development of Europe and that of the US is also apparent in the field of foreign trade. In 1938, the last year before the Second World War, the United States produced approximately as much as Europe; but since it produced its food and the greater part of its raw materials at home, its share of total world imports was only approximately 8 per cent, while the

Marshall Plan countries accounted for approximately half of all world imports. Such was the dependence of Europe on foreign trade.

The First World War made the first decisive break.

The major loss was in Eastern Europe itself—Russia. Following the communist revolution there, industrialization programs undertaken by the Soviets deprived many Western European manufacturers of a profitable market.

The First World War was not an Asiatic war, and the European powers remained in possession of their Asiatic colonial empires. But independence movements in the colonial empires were beginning to gather strength, and Europe could no longer add *new* territories to the old empires—the only imperialism that was still able to expand in this period was that of the Japanese.

Thus a century of imperialist expansion gave way, after the First World War, to stagnation.

Simultaneously, Europe's position as financial heart of the world, as exporter of capital, was shattered. Of the three great European industrial states, England, France and Germany, only England emerged from the First World War in a position to export capital, and even England on a greatly reduced scale. From 1907 to 1913, British capital exports amounted to £160 million annually, from 1920 to 1927, they had fallen to £45 million. By then France and Germany were exporting scarcely any capital at all.

The Second World War intensified all of these old trends. Aside from certain direct effects of the Second World War—Eastern Europe was in large part a battlefield and thus will require considerable time even to return to its prewar level—Eastern and Southeastern Europe were in the midst of decisive economic and political transformation.

This region is inhabited by nearly 100 million people, almost one fifth of the European population. Before the war the commercial policies of these countries were largely governed by economic considerations. Today Russian policy has become the decisive factor in determining their commercial relations; and trade between industrial Europe and these countries amounts to barely one third of the prewar figures.

The Second World War was also an Asiatic war. It was fought in and for Asia and brought decisive changes to Asia. The forces now at work on this continent inhabited by half the world's population are so immense that their full importance will not be grasped for many years. One fact, however, must be clearly understood: *With the Second World War there began a sharp decline in European colonial imperialism. Europe no longer possesses the foreign assets to tide it over the period of transformation.*

Here we have hit the crucial difference between the present situation and that which prevailed after the First World War.

After the First World War production in industrial Europe as a whole fell more sharply than after the last war—and one good reason for this was that Europe went into the First World War without mass unemployment and unused productive capacities. But after the First World War. industrial Europe had large foreign holdings; it still retained extensive economic relations with its industrially backward periphery, Asia, Africa, Southern and Eastern Europe.

Soon after the war, it was again possible to exchange Europe's industrial products on a large scale for the raw materials and foodstuffs of this partially precapitalistic periphery.

Today the situation is quite different.

It cannot be supposed that former British India will ever again become a British colony; or that Eastern Europe will in the near future withdraw from the Russian orbit; it cannot be supposed that the process of intensified industrialization combined with the liquidation of feudalism, now taking place in Eastern Europe and in Asia, will be halted.

In view of these far-reaching changes taking place in spheres strongly affecting European economic relations, it gives a false picture to compare present European production figures with those for 1936-38; it gives a false picture because such comparisons encourage the idea that it is possible for industrial Europe to go back to its prewar position. In actual fact, this is out of the question. The world outside of industrial Europe is no longer the same.

Consequently, industrial Europe must not try to regain its old position, but to secure a new one that will enable it to survive as an independent political entity, despite the changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe and Asia, and on the whole Eurasian continent.

Two inferences may be drawn from our analysis:

1. If the Marshall Plan countries are to maintain a living standard comparable to that of the prewar years, they cannot be expected to become independent of American aid by the end of 1952.

2. If they are to achieve success at all, the European nations must cooperate more closely than ever before. Separate nations, each with undiminished sovereignty, each acting entirely on its own, will never be able to overcome the crisis. This is something that the European nations must learn. Only if they are willing to face the conclusions that follow from a crisis of such magnitude, only if they take every possible step towards a United States of Europe, have they a chance to recover their economic independence and to remain a political world power.

DESPITE the heartening accounts of European economic recovery as set forth in recent reports by the UN and the ECA, the European economic crisis—like the seven eighths of an iceberg still submerged—remains profound. Nor is it likely that it will be solved by 1952 despite the magic properties too often assigned to this date as if it inevitably portended the beginnings of some economic utopia.

This sobering point is the theme of this article by Fritz Sternberg, the noted German-born economist and author who has achieved a remarkable record for economic predictions as provocative as they are accurate. He is the author of a standard work on imperialism *(Der Imperialismus)* and of eight other books the most recent of which are *How to Stop the Russians without War*, and *Living with Crisis*.

What THE SOVIET BUDGET Conceals . . . and Reveals

Quite unlike its counterparts in the West the USSR's annual budget requires 'translation' by a specialist

By ELLSWORTH RAYMOND

Former research analyst US Embassy in Moscow

ONCE each year the secretive Soviet Government lays bare its aims, policies and plans—simply by publishing its annual national budget.

In contrast to the usual and meaningless percentage figures released in profligate fashion by the USSR, the budget lists actual sums of money. Furthermore, it changes, for a brief moment, the very character of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On most issues this body is a rubberstamp parliament. It okays all proposed laws unanimously, quickly, automatically. But the annual national budget is something else again. It is vigorously debated by deputies from all corners of the Union. And for a very simple reason: Russia's cities, regions, even republics, have no power of taxation. All taxes are collected by the central government, which itself decides how much funds each local government unit shall receive. As a consequence politicking, back scratching and log rolling are natural adjuncts of budget debates in Moscow as in other capitals.

When Finance Minister A. G. Zverev recently introduced the proposed 1949 budget, he pointedly offered strong assurances to the world that only a very small part of the Soviet expenditures are for armament. To a serious student of modern Russia, however, the actual budget figures reveal quite contradictory facts.

One is that a reversal is taking place against the earlier postwar trend of increasing capital investments and social-cultural expenditures each year at the expense of military appropriations. This year defense funds are up, and capital investments and social-cultural moneys are cut.

At first glance this is not obvious, since all three major groups of expenditures are being increased over last year—a reflection, incidentally, of continuing inflation of the ruble—a fact Minister Zverev did not emphasize. (To eliminate this inflation factor, one simply reduces each year's total appropriations to 100 per cent, and then finds what proportion capital investments, social-cultural expenditures and defense funds are of the total.)

Using this yardstick we see that capital investments declined from 40 per cent of total appropriations in 1948 to 37 per cent in 1949, while social-cultural funds made a similar decrease from 29 to 26 per cent. In contrast, the army-navy appropriation rose from 18 per cent last year to 19 per cent now. These percentage changes may seem insignificant, until one remembers that every 1 per cent of the 1949 budget amounts to some 4,500,000,000 rubles—nearly $850,000,000 at official exchange rates of 5.3 rubles to the US dollar.

Even so, army-navy appropriations constitute only one fifth of the 1949 total expenditures, which seems small indeed. And Finance Minister Zverev carefully pointed out that one third of the proposed US 1949 national budget will go for armament.

Actually, of course, the comparison is not indicative. For one thing, US towns, cities, counties and states collect their own taxes, and disburse their own revenues. Thus, the American national budget handles but part of all US governmental finances, while the Soviet central government handles all.

Also, most capital investments in the United States are made by private business. All capital investment in the USSR is made by the state, and most of it passes through the na-

tional budget.

Hence, most of Soviet national income is redistributed via the national budget, while but a fraction of the US national income enters the American national budget.

These same reasons explain why the 1949 Soviet budget has giant total appropriations of 78 billion dollars, compared with the proposed US national budget of only 45 billion. And this difference in budgets makes clear that 19 per cent of 78 billion dollars is 15 billion. In other words, the dollars to be spent this year on Soviet armament total about the same as those the US will spend on its armed forces.

But there is more to it than the foregoing. A very important factor is the hidden military appropriations in the USSR budget.

Capital investments, the largest single group of appropriations in the 1949 budget (see tables), include—but do not specify—subsidies to armament factories and funds for building new war plants.

A very large block of expenditures contains secret funds for the interior police. This MVD is literally an army in itself. It guards the second largest railway system in the world and the globe's longest frontiers, besides maintaining troops near large cities to assure internal security, but its funds are not budgeted.

Another hidden item, for war pensions, is carried in the budget's social-cultural funds.

If all these were added to the Soviet army-navy appropriation, the latter would be increased by at least one third.

Though hidden military appropriations are normal in the Soviet budget they are evidently increasing in 1949. This is a third somewhat disturbing revelation.

In previous budgets, capital investments were always broken down into funds for industry, agriculture, communications, commerce, public utilities. But for 1949, no breakdown of capital investments is given. Something is clearly being hidden, and it is most likely Soviet atom-bomb plant construction. The cost of a Soviet Oak Ridge or Hanford will necessarily run into billions of rubles, which might be detected should a capital investment breakdown be published.

Another, related, fact which study brings to light is that those appropriations so secret they are not named but listed in the budget as "undesignated" have increased by 66 per cent. Undesignated expenditures amounted to 9 per cent of total budget appropriations in 1948. They are 15 per cent in 1949. In fact, this undesignated appropriation is the fourth largest item of expenditure in the 1949 budget, when all expenses are broken down to the most minute categories listed. One can only guess where these funds are going—whether to secret police, espionage, Communist movements abroad, atomic research, or what other activity.

Here are all the appropriations listed in the 1949 budget: capital investments (except agriculture), 119.8 billion rubles; armed forces, 79.1 billion; education, 60.8; undesignated, 50.8; agriculture, 32.7; state savings, 30.7; free medical service, 21.6; pensions, 21.4; temporary disability grants, 16.6; administrative expenses, 13.7; care for large families and for bastards, 3.4 billion.

One other curious aspect of a Soviet budget is that it does not designate the source of all revenue. In the 1949 budget 20 per cent of all revenue comes from unspecified sources. Since reparations from Germany, Rumania, Hungary and Finland are not shown as revenue, the huge unexplained funds must include them. They probably include also income from unequal trade with Soviet neighbor states of East Europe. All such items are normally counted as budget revenue — Lend-Lease shipments were "income" during World War II. In 1949 revenue from unexplained sources is second in importance. The full list as given in the budget is: sales tax—261.9 billion rubles (59 per cent of total revenue); unexplained revenue — 90.8 billion; direct taxes—36.5; industrial profits — 33.9; government bonds—22.9 billion.

From the foregoing, three important conclusions may be drawn:

1. Though the Soviet government, perhaps concerned at the momentum of the "cold war," has stopped its armament slowdown, Soviet fears are not great. The armament increase does not indicate expectancy of a shooting war. It is, in fact, relatively small compared with the sharp climbs in defense appropriations just before World War II. (Between 1938 and 1939, army-navy budget figures jumped from 19 to 26 per cent of the total. During the war, in the peak year 1943, the armed services were allocated 60 per cent — 138 billion rubles when rubles bought far more than they do today.)

2. Secret appropriations are rising tremendously in 1949 over the 1948 undesignated sums. This almost certainly means that the USSR is now building atom-bomb factories, and expanding MVD activities. Funds for confidential activity abroad may also be going up.

3. Reparations and favorable trade balances with East Europe are helping greatly to finance rehabilitation and the construction work of Russia's postwar Fourth Five-Year Plan.

How Soviet Budget Appropriations Are Spent

Type of Appropriation	1948		1949
Capital Investments	40%		37%
a. Industry	64%	?	
b. Agriculture	14%	21%	
c. Transport	10%	?	
d. Secret	9%	?	
e. Trade	3%	?	
Social Welfare	29%		26%
Armed Forces	18%		19%
Undesignated Expenditures	9%		15%
Administrative Expenses	4%		3%

FIFTH IN A SERIES—By HERBERT HARRIS

Office Equipment International

At the heart of US industry and government observers find the efficiency key to be mostly electronic office machinery

THE FIRST OF TWO ARTICLES

THE FIRST electro-automatic Chinese typewriter, developed by IBM, has 43 keys to write 5,400 ideographs. Experienced operators can type 40 average words a minute.

WHEN the rest of the world looks upon American efficiency, it sees giant turbines at Grand Coulee, assembly lines in Detroit, gang plows turning the good earth of a Kansan plain, the orange flare of Pittsburgh's furnaces flinging steel history upon the page of night. Above all, perhaps, the rest of the world sees the epitome of American efficiency in the awesome synchronization of 2000 scientists, 20,000 technicians, 200,000 managers and supervisors, and 2,000,000 workers who in 2 years from 2200 industries and $2 billion wrought the atom bomb.

Yet American efficiency as a precision tool for the conduct of business in a world daily more complex and challenging is reflected quite as much in equipment for the office as in equipment for the factory or the field. Latterly this kind of efficiency has reached the point of a new *administrative* revolution just now catching up with the pace and purposes of an industrial revolution which increasingly mechanizes plant, mine, farm. What the tractor has been to the team of mules the electric typewriter is to the pen. What the power shovel has been to the pick, the punched card index and filing system, mechanically or electronically controlled, is to the old-fashioned ledger.

It is this type of office equipment, together with microfilm that saves

IN CANYON-LIKE AISLES employees of the Social Security office file applications.

floor and cabinet space, and adding machines and calculators and dictaphones that save bookkeeping and executive and secretarial time, which is doing something more than cutting waste, fatigue and costs in the cortical centers of the US economic community. It is enabling modern management to cope more effectively with the maze-like vastness of today's business, in all its ramifications, and rules and rigors.

Nothing of the kind was ever known abroad on a scale comparable to the American achievement. Today, after the devastation of World War II, in many European countries even the simplest business machines, such as typewriters and calculators, are scarce items. In Central Europe, the various succeeding armies made a practice of requisitioning office equipment and often even ministerial documents are written in long-hand.

During the Atlantic Conference, in August 1941, when President Roosevelt went aboard the battleship *Prince of Wales* to confer with Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill, the American staff had to take along its own typewriters and stenotype machines, since there were none to be found even on England's most modern man-of-war.

Back home in London, in the famous Old Building of the Admiralty, British sailors from the First Sea Lord down to the last able-bodied lad still write whatever paper-work they have in the calligraphy of the last century.

But this is hardly one of those traditions Britain is so fond of perpetuating. Rather it is a *nolens-volens* adjustment to the fact that typewriters are as scarce in the offices of the Admiralty's Senior Clerks as sorting machines are in the recruiting barracks of the Royal Navy or adding machines in the quarters of His Majesty's Paymasters.

Hence, the more astute non-American businessmen, economists and government officials and members of foreign purchasing missions, are investigating with an interest amounting to fervor, that phase of American efficiency symbolized by the business machine.

They recognize that before their own nations can benefit fully from ERP aid, or from development loans under World Bank or other UN auspices, or under the forthcoming Point Four program, they will have to dovetail office procedures more accurately with production gains and goals. In this general connection, a French statistical expert recently remarked that if his government could install up-to-date office equipment, it could lop off some 90,000 employees from the bloated federal bureaucracy which, in Paris, still largely works with tools that belong to the era of paper cuffs, high-stools, inkpots and gaslight.

1901 to 1949—
Records and Business

Actually, of course, the American office equipment industry (like American industry in general) has accomplished a quite prodigious amount, during the past three decades especially, in exporting its own mechanisms and know-how. Both continue, to an ever-greater extent, to assist foreign enterprises, private and public, to raise productivity and to integrate economic efforts and streamline administrative functions. Specific case histories of this activity, country by country, will be cited in the next article in this series. Here a broad summary of the little-understood role of the business machine in the American economy is required to furnish both perspective and yardstick.

The speed and scope of US economic development, in all fields during the past 50 years, has required ever more precise and reliable management controls over production, prices, wages and salaries, materials, inventories, shipments, investments, savings, sales, profits. The major dates in that development which has been dynamic, diverse and which at times has even been found to be disruptive, are:

MATHEMATICS VIA IBM ELECTRONICS, at the University of Pennsylvania.

- 1901—Founding of US Steel Company as America's first billion dollar corporation, portent of gigantic undertakings on a hitherto unimagined scale.
- 1912—Passage of the federal income tax law, precursor of still more paper work to come with increasing government intervention in economic affairs.
- 1914-18—US supply of arms to Allies and subsequent participation in World War I, gave strong impetus to transform all industry into a great conveyor belt.
- 1920-29—Drive to consolidate separate enterprises, by means of the holding company, fostered Big Business units from chain stores to public utility mergers of an immensity never known before.
- 1930-39 — (a) Depression compelled management to calculate costs more carefully, to reduce overhead to keep afloat.

(c) Growth of union membership from 1,700,000 in 1933 to more than 10,000,000 in 1939 also complicated bookkeeping by requiring employers to check off dues and assessments, and sometimes deduct for hospitalization and other welfare plans.

■ 1941-46—World War II, brought 10 million into the armed forces, making government the basic buyer, providing for wage, price, materials and priority controls, heightened the need for forms, reports, records, contracts, letters, memoranda in quintuplicate at least.

■ The income tax withholding provisions established by the revised law of 1943 further complicated bookkeeping records for employee payrolls.

■ 1947-48—The replenishment boom, with its jobs for all, preserved wartime's labor shortage, hiked white-collar salaries, forced management to resort to still more business machines to make up for employee inexperience or indifference or both, in order to keep work flowing and costs down.

■ 1949—The swingback toward a buyers' market re-introduced hard hitting competition with its corollary of trimming outlays in shop and office and achieving more dextrous operation all around.

As a result of all these long-term trends, the sales curve of business machines has risen from $5 million in 1909 to $195 million in 1929 to an estimated $1 billion in 1949. The rise has been most spectacular in the last four and a half years, and even a major slump will not interrupt the upward tendency. Hard times now or in the near future would mean merely that employers would strive ever harder to lower costs, and the government would require even more machines to handle the load of new millions of employees on public works projects and, perhaps, on relief.

Curiously, the two primary inventions to which the business machine industry owes its present indispensable, and highly prosperous, condition appeared late in the nineteenth century and were adjudged failures in their early years.

The first typewriter when put on the market by E. Remington & Sons, of Ilion, New York, in 1875, was regarded as a frivolous new-fangled gadget not worth a solid citizen's second look.

Mankind had been carrying on business transactions by means of hand marks on paper from the days of the papyrus and stylus, and the typewriter therefore had to buck a formidable accumulation of human inertia backed by a tradition of 4000 years.

From Herman Hollerwith to Thomas J. Watson, Sr.

In fact, to gain any acceptance whatever, the manufacturers had to pledge the prospective purchaser that they would provide an operator specially trained to run their strange new machine. With the aid of this inducement, they sold an average of 191 machines annually for the first six years, and it was not until the century's turn that the typewriter began to come into its own.

Far less fortunate was the combination punch card and tabulating device created by the statistician Herman Hollerwith in 1886. He had been inspired to fashion both to overcome the almost indeterminable slowness with which census takers gathered their data and toted them up. Yet while many scientific societies, here and abroad, hailed his inventions, he could never acquire sufficient financial backing to convert them into a profitable venture. They had to wait 30 years for an industrialist with enough business acumen to perceive their potentialities—Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Sr., President of International Business Machines.

Direct descendants of the Hollerwith contrivances are the array of IBM machines used, for example, by the Social Security Administration in its Division of Accounting Operations in Baltimore, Maryland. This division has the most staggering and titanic job of record-keeping in world history. On its books it carries 93.4 million people, with an average of 8.5 separate entries for each. It has to maintain continuous track of every change in employer, marital status, residence, wage or salary for every name on its roster. To process its accounts, at the rate of some 7,000 a day, the division depends u IBM equipment which, in its tricacy and ingenuity, goes bey the robot brains prophesied by Capeks in the famous play, *R.U.R.*

Since Social Security records kept on a punch-card basis, w each hole signifying an item of formation, the machines have to able to read and interpret the me ing of each perforation, to sort, print, and to correlate one fact w another. The "*puncher*", for instan permits a qualified operator to tra fer from typed or hand-written for to cards some 2500 items of pay-e velope data a day. The *sorter* aut matically places cards punched by t operator in proper alphabetical numerical sequence at a speed nearly 500 a minute. The *tabulat* calculates payroll decreases or i creases from the perforations punche in a card at a speed of 160 a minut The *collator* matches up separat items of information from differen cards, catches mistakes, and othe wise functions as synthesizer an monitor at a speed of 475 a minute

By renting from IBM machines o this cerebral character, at a cost o $1 million a month, and by micro filming its original applications fo Social Security numbers, and relate wage data, the division is able t keep an average, and complete, in come history of coal miner or lum berjack or any other wage earner fo a whole year at a cost of exactly 13 cents.

What applies to Social Security operations, applies with greater force to private business. Even if Social Security's overhead were infinitely higher than it is, few voices would protest against extra costs for such a popular government service. But private management, responsible to stockholders, and under constant pressure to show profits, can expect no such margin of tolerance.

Consequently, businessmen are invoking the assistance of machines as never before to inject into office routines some of the engineering proficiency already well-established on the factory floor. This is, management generally tends to believe, not only an efficacious way to meet growing competition at home but also to reach out for the growing markets abroad —markets which the US business machine itself has often pioneered and helped to develop.

Radio Tour for Peace

Town Meeting of the Air starts three-month series from 12 capitals

IMPOSE on the handsome and almost hairless head (see cut) blond, curling, shoulder-length locks, sweeping mustaches and a sportive goatee. So embellished, George V. Denny, Jr., might well play the role of another, earlier showman and promoter of the American way, William —Buffalo Bill—Cody. For promoting an understanding of the American way is precisely what Mr. Denny—without makeup—plans to do on his current world tour (see page 50) of Town Meeting of the Air, his noted radio program.

Buffalo Bill's famous Wild West Show, with truly wild Indians, mock battles, fancy shooting, bucking horses and whooping cowboys was based on a passing, frontier phase of America. But it was so novel, so dramatic—it was such fantastic escape from the unexciting propriety of life in Victorian Europe—that the American Wild West became the spiritual homeland of a generation of little boys in Germany, England, Switzerland, Bohemia, Hungary and elsewhere in Western and Central Europe.

Denny, whose radio show will be broadcast in 12 non-American capitals during the next three months will show the world an older way of of American life and thought, one as old as the American colonies. The town meeting exemplifies the concept of individual responsibility in government, the raw democracy from which has been distilled the representative republican government of the US today.

For 14 years, Mr. Denny, who began life as an actor then turned to education, has combined his talents to preserve on his show and popularize among Americans the individual oral exchange of ideas.

Mr. Denny was aware that his radio program alone—exciting as it often is when arguments wax hot and even personal — would not demonstrate adequately today's America to the world. He has asked for and received the help of his audiences, of organizations of citizens, and of the US Government, to provide means, ideas and men with which to persuade the people of all the world that:

- Americans are interested in understanding and co-operating with others.
- Americans want other peoples to understand them and their motives.
- The American way of free discussion of controversial problems can be profitably applied in other countries.

The response has been remarkable. Since late March brief appeals for funds have been made on the Town Meeting and other radio programs, urging "dollars for democracy" to finance the tour. Eighteen thousand US listeners—the program is broadcast weekly over 265 ABC stations—sent in contributions varying from $1 to $100—a total of $45,000 by June 15. Twenty-six organizations have chosen representatives to make the tour, paying $6-$8 thousand each for the privilege. The greatest contribution came from the US Government—not in the form of a subsidy but in mental energy. It granted a leave of absence to Chester S. Williams from the staff of the US Mission to the United Nations to act, as general manager and seminar director for the world tour.

Mr. Williams is, primarily, an educator who has made a career of public service. He joined the US Office of Education in 1935. There he did poineer work in establishing public-forum demonstrations as a part of the adult education program. He is author of a set of booklets for high schools entitled *Our Freedom Series*.

During the war he joined the Office of War Information where he initiated the overseas libraries which have become an essential element in the US Information Service. After the war he served both with UNRRA

TOWN MEETING MODERATOR

Radio Tour for Peace *continued*

and the State Department and, in the latter service, set up at San Francisco in 1945 the liaison system which is still in effect between the UN and the so-called Non-Governmental Organizations (a number of which are among 26 US organizations taking part in this tour).

Mr. Williams' responsibility during the 12-nation tour of Town Meeting will be to supplement the drama of the radio shows with applications of his first specialty: adult education. The 26 organizational representatives making the tour are to be the real educators. In each city, they will engage in round-table discussions—two and three-day seminars—with local leaders of government, business, labor, agriculture and the professions. In each case the topic or topics will be of direct interest to the hosts as well as the touring Americans.

The Town Meeting broadcasts, conducted by Mr. Denny, will follow the standard formula, with four speakers each making a case of five-minutes' length followed by a 10-minute period of discussion among the speakers and 25 minutes during which the audience participates by posing questions to one or another of the panel of experts. The program will be transcribed and broadcast to the regular Tuesday evening audiences in the US in English. They may also be broadcast in the country where they originate. This has already been arranged in France and Italy.

It is the conviction of Messrs. Denny and Williams that, by bringing American leaders into face-to-face discussions with men and women of similar caliber in other countries, the concept of free speech and open argument will be promoted, the ideal of international understanding will be forwarded, the goal of world peace will be approached. It is significant—and promising—that in the 12 nations to be visited, they have found men and organizations who share their hopes and are eager to act to realize them. Nations, with their sovereignty to lose, find it difficult to work directly for one world. Individuals, men with their own and their children's lives to gain, must point the way. The Town Meeting and the co-operating NGO's and individuals must be recognized as trail blazers for one world.

TOWN HALL ITINERARY

- **New York**
- **London**
- **Paris**
- **Berlin**
- **Vienna**
- **Rome**
- **Ankara**
- **Tel Aviv**
- **Cairo**
- **Karachi**
- **New Delhi**
- **Manila**
- **Tokyo**
- **Honolulu**
- **San Francisco**
- **Washington**

ONE-WORLD INTELLIGENCE

A NEW SUIT for the World Movement for a World Federal Government is the aim of members who feel the organization has grown too big for the breeches tailored at Luxembourg in 1948. Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese, a US member of the WMWFG's Council, will spearhead the effort to provide the new garment—adoption of "federal" to replace the present "league" structure. The reform element argues that the "Movement" suffers from some of the same invitations to chaos that made ineffective the League of Nations and now hampers the UN. The attempt to effect the fundamental change will take place at the annual congress to be held in Stockholm Aug. 29-Sept. 4. Alexandre Marc, a French Council member who has already taken a strong stand against the danger of over-centralization, is expected to head the opposition.

TO DRAMATIZE PEACE, theater groups in America are being urged to work on performances dedicated to human rights and international understanding. Stimulus—the US National Commission for UNESCO. Chief stimulator—Miss Rosamond Gilder, chairman of the USNC panel on dramatic arts and representative of the American National Theatre and Academy. Stimulated—more than 2,000 professional, school and community groups. The campaign aims at March, 1950, as the month when the project will reach its peak with peace, tolerance and understanding emphasized in theaters from coast to coast.

IN CONGRESS 91 Democrats and Republicans in June introduced in the House a resolution calling on the US to strengthen the United Nations with the goal of developing it into a world federation open to all nations.

IN PARLIAMENT, 112 members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons have told Lord Beveridge (Liberal), Mr. I. J. Pitman, M.P. (Conservative) and Mr. E. R. Millington, M.P. (Labor) that they will support the holding of an unofficial People's World Convention in 1950 as a means of mobilizing public opinion in favor of world government.

RIVALRY without shooting is the aim of the United Nations Citizenship League, 4010 Oakford Ave., Baltimore. Instead of competition in arms, tariffs, propaganda, the UNCL asks that cities in the US and abroad strive to outdo each other in projects to strengthen the UN. The UNCL was founded in 1947, is now organized in 21 nations.

NEW YORK STATE "community ambassadors" from five towns will travel abroad this summer, living for six weeks with families in the countries visited. Trips to England, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and France are planned in the Community Project in International Understanding begun last year under the auspices of the State Department of Education and the State Community Service Councils of Young Adults.

US AIRCRAFT will get incidental promotion from the Town Meeting tour. All jumps will be by plane—one by Sabena (Belgian), one by KLM (Dutch), 10 by Pan-American (US). New York-London and Honolulu-San Francisco legs will be in Pan-Am's new double-decker Stratocruisers.

US ELECTRONICS also will be "sold" by the tour. Headsets for simultaneous-translation operations and other miracle gadgets will be International Business Machine products.

General Assembly

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION, a General Assembly agency whose duty is to codify international law, ended its first session in June, having drafted a Declaration on the Rights and Duties of States which will now go to the General Assembly. Working groups are now studying and will report in 1950 on • formulation of the Nuremberg principles; • a draft code of offenses against the peace and security of mankind; • the question of setting up an international judicial body to deal with genocide offenders.

KOREA: The Commission on Korea served notice in late May that it assumed no responsibility for withdrawal of occupying forces from Korea. Reason: it had not been able to observe Soviet troop dispositions or movements. UNCOK reports it is still patiently trying to communicate with North Korea. It has sent a letter to Gen. Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic asking to visit North Korea. The letter went by hand via Hongkong, through the captain of a ship sailing to North Korea.

Security Council

KASHMIR: The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (in Muslim Kashmir which had once legally acceded to India) is still trying for a truce agreement. Though UNCIP presented truce terms in April, no agreement has been made on disposition and withdrawal of troops from Kashmir to prepare the way for the plebiscite.

HYDERABAD: Pakistan, after five months, reintroduced the matter of this chiefly Hindu state (which India took by force last year from its Muslim ruler). India holds to its position that the matter is one for domestic jurisdiction and should be removed from the Council agenda. Pakistan maintains it is a constantly deteriorating political matter which threatens the peace. Sir Zafrullah Khan, of Pakistan, pleaded for a general amnesty and a plebiscite to decide Hyderabad's status.

NEPAL: The membership committee of the Council has asked the government of Nepal—which seeks UN membership—for information on the country's sovereignty and independence. The vote was 9-0 with 2 abstentions (Ukraine and USSR).

ATOMIC ENERGY: The Atomic Energy Commission has given a working committee the General Assembly's resolution (to continue search for an East-West compromise) and the Soviet proposals (for conventions prohibiting atomic weapons and controlling atomic energy, both to go into effect simultaneously). The committee began work in a "normal" atmosphere: China moved to reject the Soviet proposals; the USSR accused US and UK of refusing to compromise; they in turn pointed out that the Soviet proposal has already been discussed and rejected by the General Assembly, whereupon the committee decided to suspend further meetings until the Big Five and Canada consult together and decide there is basis for agreement.

Economic & Social Council

ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION: The 15-nation group focused its attention on the economic development of under-developed countries. It suggested that member countries: • encourage financiers—both foreign and domestic—by reducing or abolishing duties on capital equipment, eliminating double taxation, etc.; • increase the number of technical fellowships given to foreign students by advanced countries; • take measures to safeguard the professional status of experts who leave their jobs to participate in technical missions. . . . The Commission also voted to abolish its two sub-commissions, one on Economic Development and another on Employment and Economic Stability. Both had been hotbeds of contention between advocates of private and state capital. The report on economic development stressed the importance of industrialization, including heavy industry, to development, approved domestic over foreign financing and stipulated that foreign financing should promote economic and political independence of the country concerned. It also suggested a new international financial agency to supplement the work of the International Bank in financing projects in under-developed countries. The majority of the Commission (India, USSR, Czechoslovakia and Byelorussia excepted) protested that the report was not specific enough. It did not agree that heavy industry was uniformly essential to industrialization nor that a new international financing agency was needed.

SOCIAL COMMISSION: Chief accomplishment of the fourth session at Lake Success, a draft of a convention "For the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others." The draft goes to ECOSOC for study at its July meeting in Geneva. If adopted as a convention, parties to it would agree: • to punish procurers; • to combat prostitution with education; • to rehabilitate prostitutes. The convention would require all states signing it to abolish measures legalizing prostitution.

COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS: At its fourth session (May-June at Lake Success) the Commission mapped out a program of work for a new single convention on narcotics in place of eight existing international agreements. The convention would limit production to medical and scientific requirements and replace the Permanent Central Opium Board and the Supervisory Body by a single organ under the Commission. . . . The Commission also: • asked governments to increase their efforts to catch and punish traffickers in narcotics and to keep a watch on all transportation centers; • chose four experts to go to Peru, Bolivia and other Latin American countries this year to study coca-chewing, and asked for additional funds and more time for the study; • set up a group to prepare an interim agreement limiting production of opium; • accepted a US offer to use its laboratories to trace the origin of illicit opium shipments.

Specialized Agencies

UNICEF: All but broke several weeks ago, UNICEF now can count on about $9 million with which to save starving children between now and March 1950. This sum includes contributions of more than $2.5 million from 6 countries—Austria, Australia, Iceland, India, Luxembourg and Italy—plus nearly $6.5 million in matching US funds. Italy's contribution, of $870,000, is its third, previous ones being chiefly rice which was fed to Yugoslav children. More than 1,000,000 Italian children get milk daily from UNICEF.

UNAC (UNICEF's fund-raising agency): 1949 United Nations Appeal for Children campaigns are under way in seven countries — Belgium, Canada, Ceylon, Honduras, Italy, Pakistan and Switzerland. In the US, the UN Children's Fund Committee has begun an educational campaign for 1949. The 1948 UNAC drives, in 46 countries and 30 territories, have so far yielded UNICEF $10,500,000, are still going on in 6 countries.

THE INTERNATIONAL BANK is studying Iraq's economy in general and flood control projects in the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys in particular. A loan may follow. Another project being considered by the Bank is a loan of $6 million-plus to Czechoslovakia, Finland and Yugoslavia for lumbering machinery. The three countries anticipate exporting up to $100,000,000 in forest products to Western Europe in the next few years. The Bank would be repaid in dollars via timber-importing countries.

Man vs. The State

In deadlock, US and USSR vote together to deny the right of individual petition

By MAX BEER

A veteran of international conferences since he first attended the League's opening session in Geneva, Max Beer now covers the UN for some of the world's major newspapers. The subject of this article is particularly close to his heart.

IS THE individual man to have the right to petition and opinion before the United Nations—or is that privilege to be restricted solely to the states?

This is the great debate. It is of such importance that its outcome could decide the future of the world. It has been going on for weeks at Lake Success, but much of the world is still not even casually aware of its pre-eminent significance.

The bald fact is that, at a time and in an organization in which the importance of the individual is being aggrandized and that of the sovereign state depreciated, individuals are denied the basic right of petition for redress of wrongs. It exists for individuals of non-self-governing peoples in the Trusteeship Council, and for individual workers in the International Labor Organization; it existed, in limited form, for the protection of minorities in the old League of Nations. But it has been stricken out when an attempt has been made to guarantee it, in writing, by the United Nations.

The writer [and the Editors of UNITED NATIONS WORLD] believe that, unless the Declaration on Human Rights is to be reduced to puerile piety, the right of petition must be assured in an international convention which will be legally binding on the participating states. Members of the Commission on Human Rights, on whom the responsibility lies to prepare such a convention, do not agree among themselves. They are, in fact, as of this moment divided 8 to 8. The fact that the split finds the chief opponents in other arguments—the US and the USSR—united on this is a grave threat to the right of petition.

Which way the balance will tip, no one can safely predict. The Commission itself on June 17 took a tentative step toward breaking its deadlock by asking the Secretary-General to have a study made on the subject. Meantime, the final decision can be influenced decisively by the stand taken by leaders of opinion. It is to acquaint its influential readers with the problem and the arguments—there being three sides, not merely two—that UNITED NATIONS WORLD presents this summary.

The vote of the eighteen member commission, with Chile and Belgium absent, was a tie. The states favoring the right of individual petition were Australia, Denmark, France, Guatemala, India, Lebanon, Philippines and Uruguay, while those opposed were China, Egypt, Iran, United Kingdom, United States, USSR, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia.

Those in favor maintain a solid stand. Those against are split 5 to 3. The stands taken by the three groups are:

1. The partisans of the right of individual pefition argue:

■ That the right to complain against injustice is an elementary human right, which, having been recognized by the League of Nations, by the Trusteeship Council and the ILO, cannot now be denied without social retrogression.

■ That to deny it would be a depar-

A Derso-Kelen cartoon for United Nations World

MRS. ROOSEVELT to "her" Human Rights Commission: "Now children, all together: all . . . human . . . beings . . . are born . . . free . . . and equal . . . in dignity . . ." (The bean shooter is John Foster Dulles; the boy with the dunce cap is Andrei Vyshinsky and the apple polisher is Charles Malik of Lebanon. Note passing is UK's Philip Noel Baker.)

ture from the spirit of the Charter and would make individual rights a pawn in power politics.

■ That abuses of the right of petition can be avoided by wise procedures, close screening and insistence on the obligation to seek solutions from natoinal authorities before calling on the UN.

2. In the camp of the adversaries there are two factions. The first, consisting of China, Egypt, Iran, United Kingdom and the United States argue:

■ If the machinery for individual petition were set up now, the number of petitions would be so enormous that they would deluge the United Nations.

■ After a period of action on the part of states the delicate machinery needed to handle individual petitions could be set up so that it would operate more effectively.

3. The position of the USSR, Ukraine and Yugoslavia was:

■ That international implementation in this field means interference with the rights of sovereign states and is contrary to the stipulations of the Charter.

■ That the right of petition of individuals, groups and organizations to the government exists in the USSR, and that giving nationals of a state the privilege of petitioning the UN directly was inadmissible.

■ That as regards people in trusteeship areas, the need to appeal directly to UN existed because there was no legally constituted body which could do it for them.

■ That the right to petition on the part of individuals put them on the same footing as states and raised the question of legalizing such a dispute.

■ That the right of petitioning is subject to abuse. Under the League, Hitler made use of it to undermine central Europe.

■ That the petitions would be so numerous that they would paralyze the UN.

"NGO's," so-called, represent national and international groups, labor, educational, business, church and others, which under Article 71 of the Charter have an important consultative function in the UN. They are, in fact, one of the side entrances through which individuals can even now make their voices heard in the UN. NGO's, consulting with the Human Rights Commission, have argued constantly for inclusion in the convention of the right of petition, not only for themselves as organizations, but for individuals.

The study requested by the Commission will no doubt be conducted within the Social Affairs Department of the UN, which is headed by the noted French scientist, Henri Laugier, and the actual work will be done by the Department's Human Rights Division under Prof. John P. Humphrey of Canada, its director.

There is no question that this study will seriously influence the thoughts of Commission members. In the meantime, the controversy will continue. It will serve not only to bring to light the problems involved but to focus attention on the very doctrines on which the United Nations is built. In the final analysis, it will be a contest between the opinions expressed and the action taken by those who believe that the international community consists of men and those who believe it consists of states.

The Meaning of Human Rights

Two Interpretations—I By a Polish Philosopher

SERGE I. HESSEN

Professor in the University of Lodz, Poland

IT WOULD be easy to show that the modern idea of democracy is deeply rooted in the new attitude which Christianity brought into the world. This is true not only historically but also philosophically. The three principles (equality, liberty and solidarity) which form an unstable equilibrium within the idea of democracy are but three aspects of the "greatest" (I Corinth. 13,13.) of Christian virtues—charity. For charity, indeed, presumes equality.

Under this aspect of equality it is more than mere pity or compassion. It is a relation or rather a tie—the tie of love—between equals. True charity excludes every patronizing condescension. It aspires rather to make the fellow-creature who is the subject of our loving activity a free being, no more in need of our help and standing firmly on his own feet. This is a task much more difficult than merely satisfying a need, or stilling a pain or even a grief, which is the objective of so-called philanthropy. True charity is an "active love" (Dostoievsky) whose objective is the liberty of the fellow creature.

It is the love of a concrete "neighbor," not of an abstract ideal man. This neighbor may be a sinner, he may "stink," as Ivan Karamazov says. Charity excludes all contempt, even the slightest disgust. For he who loves his neighbor feels his own responsibility even for the sins of his fellow creature. If I had more love, I would perhaps be able to prevent misdeeds, and even their contemplation. "Every man is responsible for everybody and for everything," says Father Zozima in *The Brothers Karamazov*. The feeling of solidarity between all fellow creatures, of their fraternity as sons of God, is a necessary element in the very attitude of charity.

True charity includes therefore equality, liberty and fraternity as its elements. They are inseparable components of Christian love. But, falling on the surface of social life, the pure moral beam of love resolves into its component parts. They have become different principles, demanding a continual effort if they are to be kept in harmony.

If democracy is an equilibrium between the principles of equality, liberty and solidarity, which in their turn are but a social transcription of Christian love, does it not follow that democracy is rather an absolute ideal of the "State of Law," and not merely an historical stage in its realization? The majority of the democratic liberals see, indeed, in the democratic state the last word in political progress, and even many Socialists share, to some extent, the same opinion. These "Liberal Socialists" conceive socialism as being the fulfillment of democracy and not its opposite. The question is, what does this fulfillment mean. Is there any new conception of the rights of liberty in the socialist idea of the state, or is the socialist state nothing but a new technique for making effective the same rights of positive liberty which were already proclaimed by the democratic state, but, owing to the economic structure of capitalist society, were to remain in it sheer slogans?

Expressing the claims of socialism in terms of the "rights of man," we could conveniently distinguish between two or even three kinds of such rights. To the first belong such rights as "right to a job," "the right to education," the "right to a human existence." For many Socialists the exercise of these rights of positive liberty is the very essence of socialism.

In his *Précis du Socialisme*, published in 1892, Benoit Malon advocated the creation of a ministry of social insurance as the chief aim of a socialist state. He asserted that the realization of a comprehensive system of social insurance was not possible under a capitalist economy.

Fifty years later Lord Beveridge, the author of a comprehensive system of social insurance, came to the same conclusion. Though avoiding the term socialism and even disap-

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BENEDETTO CROCE OF ITALY:

"Declarations of rights (of the *natural and inalienable* rights of man, to quote the French Declaration of 1789) are all based upon a theory which criticism on many sides has succeeded in destroying: namely, the theory of natural right, which had its own particular grounds during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, but which has become philosophically and historically quite untenable. Nor can we argue from the moral character of such rights, for morality recognizes no rights which are not, at the same time, duties and no authority but itself—this is not a natural fact but the first spiritual principle."

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proving of the policy of thorough nationalization, he advocates what he calls "national planning" as the only means of ensuring full employment, without which the social insurance would be unworkable.

There is only a slight difference between the modern Fabian view and the standpoint of F. D. Roosevelt and "New Dealers" like David Lilienthal for all their denial of "planned economy" and their emphasizing of the vital necessity for preserving private initiative and enterprise. It is the view of consistent democratic (or "new") liberalism which, being free from any capitalist doctrinairism, has an open mind and the courage to experiment with a view to making the rights ensuring the dignity of man effective.

II By a British Political Scientist

E. H. CARR

Formerly professor of International Politics, University College of Wales, Author of "The Twenty Years' Crisis," "Conditions of Peace," "Nationalism and After," "The Soviet Impact on the Western World," and other works.

ANY declaration of rights is a definition of the relation of the individual to the society in which he lives. Such a relation is necessarily twofold and mutual; in other words a declaration of rights is *ipso facto* also a declaration of obligations. The 18th Century declaration of rights was the revolutionary protest on behalf of the individual against an over-rigid social system still exhibiting feudal features; in this historical context, therefore, the declaration was likely to be one-sided and to lay more stress on the rights of the individual against society than on his obligations to it.

But even so the declaration of rights of 1789 clearly presupposes acceptance by the individual of the established social order. Liberty may be curtailed by law which is "an expression of the will of the community;" and freedom of religious belief and freedom of speech are specifically made subject to "responsibility for any disturbances of public order."

No bourgeois democracy has in fact ever tolerated the dissemination of opinions hostile to its fundamental tenets on any scale likely to menace its existence. Neither in Britain nor in the North American colonies was religious toleration absolute until religion had ceased to have serious political implications. But on the issue or principle that the exercise of political freedom cannot be tolerated up to a point where it menaces the foundation of society, there is no difference at all.

The obligation of loyalty to the established order is implicit in any declaration of political rights. Such a declaration may be a program, an announcement of an intention, or the consecration of a policy. But if it is embodied in a constitutional or legal enactment, it will always carry with it its "escape clause," written or unwritten. The government of the day always, in effect, has the reserve power of withdrawing any right which is exercised in a manner which threatens the overthrow of the existing order.

The issue of the correlation of rights and obligations arises in a far acuter form when social and economic rights are in question. The correlative obligation to political rights is the mainly passive one of loyalty to the political order under which those rights are enjoyed. The correlative obligations to social and economic rights are active. If the new declaration of the rights of man is to include provisions for social services, for maintenance in childhood, in old age, in incapacity or in unemployment, it becomes clear that no society can guarantee the enjoyment of such rights unless it, in turn, has the right to call upon and direct the productive capacities of the individuals enjoying such rights.

It is no accident that the biblical warning "He that doth not work neither shall he eat" has found so prominent a place in Bolshevik writings and in the Soviet Constitution. A declaration of rights which placed on society the obligation to furnish certain material goods and services to the individual citizen without placing on the individual the obligation to produce his required share of those goods and services would be a hollow sham.

I, therefore, suggest that any declaration of rights which would be felt to have any validity today must include social and economic as well as political rights; that no declaration of rights which does not also contain a declaration of correlative obligations could have any serious meaning; and that any declaration of rights and obligations of individual in society should at the present stage be regarded as a declaration of intention or as a standard to be aimed at rather than as an internationally binding engagement.

PROFESSOR BORIS TCHECHKO OF THE USSR:

"On the threshold of the atomic age, and pending application of nuclear energy to technical development, humanity finds itself compelled to seek a *modus vivendi* for the nations at the international level, as well as for individuals. It is probable that the present ideas of social life will have to undergo profound changes in order to adapt themselves to the dazzling prospect before us in the material field; it will therefore be essential to give the rights of man that practical foundation which has been lacking in past centuries."

PERSUASION. Shy smile and averted eyes seem to be the defense of Cuba's Alberto I. Alvarez (right) confronted by the seductive Peruvian V. A. Belaunde.

Inside the UN

Delegates in Focus

By V. X. MADISON

DIPLOMATIC GESTURES. Afghanistan's Abdul Hamid Aziz (left) and Turkey's Ambassador Selim Sarper are in harmony on more than political moves.

Lake Success:

BLANCHED a pale silver in t moonlight, the 11:05 Americ Airlines plane from Washington c cled toward its No. 4 runway La Guardia Field on the night May 17. As it passed over a vast, l building, the pilot was surprised see windows blazing with light. For brief instant he thought he was o his course. Then he remembered.

"Look—the UN," he said to h co-pilot. "Those boys are reall working late."

And they were. The second pa of the Third General Assembly wa a working assembly. As Chile's He nan Santa Cruz remarked: I Paris, the delegates swallowed fou tains of champagne and poured fort torrents of words. Now at Flushin Meadows they preferred to drink a the fountain of international wis dom, oblivious of native Manhattans of Martinis and other temptations.

The glamorous Top Brass snubbe the Assembly, and Messrs. Acheson Bevin, Schumann, Spaak and othe Foreign Ministers put in only a hur ried one-night stand as a side-show to the signing of the Atlantic Pact In their places, the younger genera tion, the "common delegates," took over and buckled down to their chores with zeal. "Please, no dinner engagements for the next evenings. We'll have meetings," Maj. Gen. Carlos Romulo warned the members of his Ad Hoc Political Committee. They obeyed to a man.

As a chairman, the General acted with military precision but there was nothing austere about his speeches. He speaks English with Gallic flourish and Hispanic pathos, and enjoys every word of it. Occasionally he opens his arms in a large oratorical gesture as if he wanted to give an accolade to the whole world. He was the very first man to deliver a speech on the opening day. I am sure part of General Romulo's popularity stems from his marvelous faculty of getting loads of fun out of his faith in the UN.

Another frequent speaker, the British Minister of State Hector McNeil, is also addicted to oratorical gestures. I often watched him take the standard posture he assumes whenever England's good faith or

honor in foreign affairs is attacked by a delegate from behind the Curtain. On these occasions McNeil's face registers in equal measure injury and tolerance. Informally resting one elbow on the lectern, he bends slightly forward and expounds the motives of His Majesty's Government in subdued tones, as in a confessional. He gives the impression of sharing with the Assembly his most confidential thoughts, his very soul.

Just as easily, however, McNeil can also be aggressive and trenchant, especially when he takes up the cudgel against the representative of Poland, Juliusz Katz-Suchy. When aroused, the Briton's clear tenor waxes contemptuous, and he delivers verbal punches with the swift ferocity of a lightweight champion out to soften the other fellow up.

The varied technique of the young Minister reveals a studied skill. One recognizes the professional politician and can credit the story that McNeil and his wife decided, twenty-odd years ago, when he was a journalist in the Highlands, that he would go places. He has—partly by his great vitality, partly by brain power, and partly by saying the clever thing at the right moment.

It is quite evident that Juliusz Katz-Suchy has no aspiration to go down in history as the paragon of old-fashioned diplomacy, breathing amiability and exuding sweetness and light. He seems to believe that no worse governments exist than those of the United States and the United Kingdom, and to be personally annoyed and angered by their imperfections. Strangely enough, his powerful frame, his strong, square head, and the violence of his temperament often remind other delegates of Mr. Bevin.

Katz-Suchy's voice is far from being melodious, and his sentences have no Ciceronian polish. But he is a brilliant speaker, with a sharp logic and sharper memory, whose arguments compel his audience to take sides—one way or another.

The Polish delegate is also an industrious man. He knows his subjects and he has an exceptionally able mind. But his colleagues think that he would be a much greater success if he were capable of the kind of moderation that was exercised by his predecessor, Dr. Oscar Lange.

Katz-Suchy's opposite number, both ideologically and personally, is the Peruvian delegate, Victor Andres Belaunde. A diplomat for 45 years, on the surface the Peruvian is as cold and collected as the Pole is impetuous; but he nurses ardent convictions. I have heard people call him a Fascist behind his back, and, whether that epithet is too strong or not, it is certain that Franco has not a more passionate apologist in the non-Spanish world—nor the USSR an enemy more bitter.

"Belaunde has stolen our thunder," an Argentine correspondent complained to me at the height of the debate on Spain.

The newspaperman was referring to the fact that in previous Assemblies Perón's envoy, Dr. José Arce, had been the recognized guardian angel protecting Franco's interests, and the official St. George fighting the communist dragon.

Of course, neither the bellicose Belaunde nor the contentious Katz-Suchy could swing the Assembly to either extreme. Furthermore, the Peruvian antagonized even his well-

FAMILY COUNCIL. Andrei Gromyko listens like a wise father as Rumanian, Bulgarian and Albanian observers discuss the events of the Assembly.

FAMILY BUSINESS. Hector McNeil (left) and his Liaison Officer to Arab Countries ponder seriously the words of Egypt's Ahmed Pasha Mohamed Khachaba.

Delegates in Focus *continued*

wishes with his longwindedness, ponderous repetitions, lack of humor.

Among the American delegates, Dr. Philip C. Jessup was too busy with Russia's Jacob Malik to put in frequent appearances. Senator Warren R. Austin came every day and was emotional and effective as usual. Politely ironical, Mr. John Foster Dulles proved an excellent polemist with his swift and sharp retorts to Mr. Gromyko's accusations of nefarious US and UK imperialistic plots all over the globe. From Assembly to Assembly, Mr. Dulles becomes simpler and more accessible. And he keeps on his hat whenever possible, even in the Delegates' Lounge.

The new man in the UN, Israel's chief delegate Aubrey S. Eban, has passed his first trials with flying colors. He had to answer more questions than the wisest men are usually asked, but he did his efficient best with a display of knowledge of the most minute details which wrung reluctant praise even from opponents.

In the absence of the shrewd and erudite Faris el-Khouri of Syria—busy in Damascus guiding General Zayim's coup d'état—the Arab delegates were generalled by the Foreign Minister of Egypt, Ahmed Pasha Mohamed Khachaba, and the chairman of the Iraqi delegation, Senator Tafwiq Al-Sawaidi.

The gray, slender Khachaba Pasha, an inveterate chain smoker, was less in evidence in the Assembly Hall than in the lounge where he was the center of frequent strategic consultations. His speeches in French were solemn and quiet, corresponding to his physical appearance. He was a curious contrast to his Iraqi colleague — stout, colorful, ebullient, whose humorous round eyes constantly seem to express mild surprise.

The Lebanese Dr. Charles Malik chaired the Third Committee and championed the cause of Human Rights, as befits a Christian philosopher. His speeches were among the loftiest and the most spiritual. Once when I asked a young guard at the door of Conference Room Two who was the speaker in the Assembly, he answered "Beethoven," meaning the Lebanese with the long, thoughtful face and serious eyes who often sounds like the Ninth Symphony.

During the whole Assembly, the existence of "blocs" was very much in evidence, as Eastern and Western and Arabian and South American delegates conferred among themselves and held improvised caucuses at the drop of a hat. In this situation the isolation of the Yugoslav representatives both from the East and the West was nothing short of conspicuous.

"You remember the times when Simich and Bebler, the Yugoslav delegates, used to be the apples of Gromyko's eyes?" a French delegate asked me gleefully. "Now the Yugoslavs remind me of the discarded mistresses of Louis XIV, who were permitted to come back to Versailles, but were never spoken to by His Majesty."

Yugoslav Ordeal

However, his "ordeal," if it were one, didn't seem unduly to upset Vladimir Popovich, head of the Yugoslav delegation. He is an energetic and confident young man of 35, and he is also very handsome in a manner which would be slick but for the concentrated tenseness of his expression. A typical product of revolutionary Europe, he started out as a doctor, and was later a captain in the Spanish Republican Army, a major general in the Yugoslav Army, and an Ambassador to Moscow. A man to watch is Popovich.

Also representing a Communist-dominated government, Dr. Adolf Hoffmeister, leader of the Czechoslovakian delegation, personifies an older, more traditional spirit of Central Europe. In his youth, Dr. Hoffmeister wrote poems, plays, novels. He was also a caricaturist and is considered wittiest of all the delegates, with an inexhaustible collection of uproariously funny stories.

He has a well trimmed mustache, humorous eyes, and a reputation as an epicurean. During the war he used to work in New York, on the Czechoslovak desk of the OWI, and when last spring he came back for the General Assembly, he vowed that he would make a pilgrimage to all the best restaurants which he couldn't afford during the war.

The Latin Americans were in most every debate, particularly th on Israel, the Italian colonies, Spanish controversy, the veto, the case of the Russian wives. M active among them was Mexico's Padilla de Nervo, former Chairm of the Little Assembly, who won spect for objectivity and brilli formulations of basic issues.

A Guatemalan, Dr. Carlos Garc Bauer, had the distinction of bei the youngest head of a delegati He is 32, very serious, with wa hair, and looks younger than he

For the first time, the Indian de gation arrived minus Mrs. Pand who is now her country's Ambass dor in Washington. The new lead was Sir M. C. Setalvad, a whi haired jurist of great distinction.

Mrs. Renuka Ray, bright a pleasant, was the woman member the Indian delegation. The Chile was Sra. Ana Figueroa, and t Dutch, as usual, Dr. Maria Witt veen. Numerous women were ke away by the Conference on t Status of Women at Beiruth, makin this more than any previous one male Assembly.

In the chair, Dr. Herbert V. Eva became the very personification c the United Nations. At San Fran cisco he was one of the godfathers o the organization, and ever since h has been identified with it more in timately than any other statesman True, the President of the First As sembly, Belgium's Paul Henri Spaak was also a "founding father," an was recognized as one of the mos stirring speakers. But somehow h seems to have lost close touch with United Nations. The same is true as to the President of the Second As sembly, Oswaldo Aranha, the correct and good humored Brazilian.

Dr. Evatt is not a Demosthenes, but the strength of his faith, his optimism and his efficiency act as a tonic on the delegates each time he proffers one of his succinct remarks.

Not everyone approves all he does, of course. The Arabs resent his championship of the Israeli cause, and the Communists appear not overcome by admiration. From a reception given by the Australian delegation, the prominent members of the Slav bloc unanimously stayed away. But, with probably no other exceptions, the rest of the delegates recognize Dr. Evatt as one of the staunchest pillars of the United Nations.

Literary Renewal IN GREECE

Having broken with the calcified past, the poets of modern Greece are among the finest in all Europe

By IAN SCOTT-KILVERT

THE literature of modern Greece—in particular its poetry—has witnessed a remarkable flowering in the past thirty years. Yet, modern Greek literature has only very recently attracted serious attention in English speaking countries. For this we must blame the barriers of linguistic and academic prejudice which we ourselves have built up.

Among the most obvious of these barriers are: the baneful and persistent influence of Gibbon upon our valuation of Byzantine culture, the perpetuation of a barbarous pronunciation of Greek invented by insular sixteenth-century scholars (which cuts off the classical student from any interest in the modern tongue), and a veneration for the classics which has led too many to exalt the ancients as a breed of Aryan demi-Gods and write off the moderns as a race of Balkan shopkeepers. We have chosen to overlook one of the most striking features of Greek history, the resistance and exclusiveness of the language and the continuity of the culture.

It took the war to bring a change. By creating a closer contact between Greece and the West, the war made a new situation in which a real appreciation of modern Greek literature has become possible.

Here I shall write only of Greek poetry. There are, of course, capable prose writers in Greece, but the Greek literary revival which developed since 1821 has been primarily a *poetic* revolution: its effect on other forms has not yet created a prose literature of international interest.

The modern achievement lies predominantly in lyrical poetry. The potentialities of the classical tongue for satire or for the high tension of dramatic dialogue have not yet been recreated. But the poets have discovered new and immensely fertile sources of legend and history—the Byzantine Empire, the Frankish occupation, the dominion of Venice in Crete and the Ionian islands, the ballads of the Klephts and mountain heroes, the folk songs and fairy tales of the peasants. All these elements have broadened and enriched the themes and the vocabulary of lyric poetry. On the conflict between the "pure" and "demotic" tongues, which has so long bedevilled Greek literature, all that can be said here is that the battle has been decisively won in the present century by the writers of demotic, which is now recognized as the living language of poetry.

One of the principal creators of this new diction is Angelos Sikelianos (born 1884), the foremost poet of Greece today. Sikelianos is a lyrist in the direct line from Solomos and Palamas, but much more independent of Western influences. He is a poet inspired primarily by the themes of nature—the Greek countryside and its legendary associations—and by religion—the reconciliation of Christianity and pagan pantheism. He has conspicuously represented in Greek life a conception which the Greeks share with the Irish, of the poet as a high priest, who treats life as a ritual and is regarded as the sage and prophet of the race.

Greek mythology plays a vital part in his poetry, not in the form of academic pastoral fantasies of fauns

The author of this article is a scholar of Greek, and a warrior. During the recent world conflict, he was parachuted into Greece to fight against the Germans with the Resistance forces.

Literary Revival in Greece *continued*

or nymphs, but as representing the sources of conflict of the modern consciousness. Sikelianos' poetry frequently reverts to the theme of an idyllic agricultural, matriarchal order: the age of innocence. This society is overthrown by the male gods, powerful, efficient, and cruel, who teach men to live in cities for the more effective domination of their neighbors. Thus the relations of love between created things is shattered, the equilibrium between man and nature disappears. Sikelianos, in his own life, has rejected the intellectual society of a modern cosmopolitan capital, and chosen rather to travel throughout Greece, steeping his sensibility in the traditions of peasant life and the monuments of vanished civilizations. In an age of intensely cerebral writing, his poetry is highly sensuous and enriched by a close and loving observation of nature. He sees Greece not as a nation subject to political vicissitudes, but as a spiritual force expressed successively in Orphism, Pythagoreanism, Platonism and Christianity.

SIKELIANOS' recognition has been slow outside Greece and his principal works, *The Light-Shadowed* (1907), *Prologue to Life* (1917), *The Delphic Word* (1927), were known before the war only to a limited circle. The Axis occupation increased both his audience and his stature. The terrible winter of 1941-42, when starvation descended upon Athens, inspired a cycle of poems, *The Akrita Songs*, which seized and gave expression to the very will for national survival and achieved a universal appeal. These contain some of his finest and most profound poetry. Since the end of the war Sikelianos has written three verse-dramas, *Christ in Rome*, *Asclepios* and *The Death of Digenis*. He writes with a mastery of melody and versification to which translation cannot do justice. He is the most versatile and the most technically accomplished of living Greek poets in the ode form, in the sonnet and in free verse. For his power of expression and his invention of new images and conceits for the Greek language, all the younger poets are in his debt.

THE poetry of George Seferis (born 1900) flows in an altogether different current, which possesses recognizable affinities with Eliot and the symbolists. While Sikelianos writes in the grand manner which stretches and sometimes inflates meaning to its utmost, Seferis offers us the poetry of allusion and understatement. Possessing less lyrical gift and less richness of imagery, he seeks his effect through a beautifully phrased, dramatic form of speech, relying on irony and subtlety of meaning.

Seferis, a native of Smyrna, belongs to the generation which was uprooted by the Asia Minor disaster of 1923. This event, which was quickly forgotten in Western Europe—if its importance was ever fully grasped—has had a profound effect on Greek art and letters. It meant first the shattering of "The Great Idea"—the centuries-old dream of the recovery of Constantinople and *Graecia Irredenta*, and in literature it went further. Until then, Greek life had hardly been touched by the West disgust with industrial civilizat which is expressed in *The Wa Land*. But this debacle in Greec fortunes produced a parallel clim of disillusionment.

Seferis meanwhile had become terested in Eliot's poetry and la translated much of it into Greek. T comparison cannot be pressed t closely, but it is true to say th Greece had also suffered from "Georgian period" of convention and sentimental lyricism. Wh Seferis published *The Turning Poi* in 1931, the challenge of his auste and elliptical diction to the curre banality of stock meters and epithe was instantly recognized and has i fluenced Greek poetry ever since.

Seferis also uses classical mytho ogy, but he and later poets emplo it in a much more oblique fashio than Sikelianos. They refer to a le end as to some event, some confli which a man remembers dimly fro his childhood, and which will a count for his inherited qualities an instincts. This power to dig throug and below the sterile arcadian us of mythology and relate its theme to the human conflicts of our tim is certainly one of the most impor tant and exciting discoveries of mod ern Greek poetry. One of his shor poems serves with its Agamemno associations to illustrate this metho of communication.

"I awoke with this head of marbl
between my hands
Which tires my elbows, and I d
not know where I may lean it
It came falling into the dream as I
was rising from the dream
So our lives grew together and now
it will be hard to sunder them.

"I look into the eyes, which are
neither open nor shut
I speak to the mouth that strives
and strives to speak
I hold the cheek bones which have
pierced the skin
I can do no more.
My hands vanish and come back
to me
Mutilated."

AMONG the older generation of Sikelianos, the poet of the highest reputation is Kazantzakis, a Cretan who has written a modern epic of

Recommended Books

THE TRACK OF THE CAT *by Walter Van Tilburg Clark—Random House.*

THE BRAVE BULLS *by Tom Lea—Little, Brown & Co.*

COMPLETE POEMS OF ROBERT FROST—*Henry Holt & Co.*

NAPOLEON FOR AND AGAINST *by Pieter Geyl—Yale University Press.*

FIVE PRIMITIVE MASTERS *by Wilhelm Uhde—The Quadrangle Press.*

EVERYMAN'S UNITED NATIONS—*UN World-Funk & Wagnalls.*

Odysseus. Unfortunately the enormous length of this poem and its difficult vocabulary have greatly limited its audience. About the younger poets, who are many and prolific, there is fierce critical disagreement, but three, I think, are of outstanding interest. The first is Demetrios Capetanakis, who died in England in 1944. The exigencies of the war compelled him to write in English rather than in Greek, and in fact both his most mature poetry and his criticism are in the English language in which he had already become a writer of distinction.

The second is Odysseus Elytis (born 1914), whose first poems have caught the sensuous enchantment of the sun, the sea, and the shores of the Aegean with a freshness of description achieved by no Greek writer since the early work of Sikelianos. Since the end of the war Elytis has also published a long poem, *The Lost Lieutenant of the Albanian Front*, a more ambitious piece than his nature poetry, and one which deserves to rank high among the poetry directly inspired by the war. The third is Nikos Engonopoulos, a surrealist painter and poet who, in his latest work, freed from paradoxes and bizarre images, has evolved a simple but intensely moving lyrical style. His best work of recent years is a long poem, *Bolivar*, which compares the struggles for independence of Greece and Latin America, and *Eleusis*, a volume of lyrics published this year.

THIS account of Greek poetry is, of course, partial and illustrated by personal choice. What is exciting about this movement is its vitality, the universally shared sense among Greek writers of the newly discovered importance of words, the consciousness of taking part in a renaissance of the language. In their choice of phrase, there is a conscious eccentricity and pugnacity which is reminiscent of the Elizabethans in their experiments with a growing language. In spite of the desperate economic conditions which make it impossible for a man of letters to earn a living wage in Greece, these symptoms of a young and vigorous literature persist and are apparently inextinguishable. This is a rare phenomenon in Europe today and it deserves our admiration.

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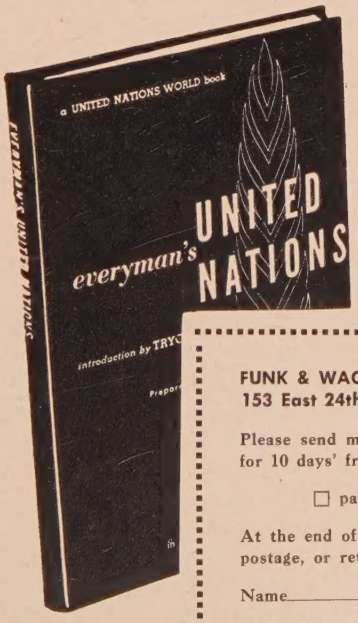

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Orwell, Buck, Human Rights

Nineteen Eighty-Four

A novel by George Orwell. New York, Harcourt, Brace, $3.

Reviewed by Tibor Koeves

GEORGE ORWELL'S new novel is the most cruel book ever written about human society. Compared to it, the most savage satires of Jonathan Swift are but spiteful fables. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* knifes one's heart and chokes one's breath. The moral reaction to it is so violent that it causes physical pain.

It presents a totalitarian world where the inner circle of a small ruling Party has succeeded in gaining control not only of the conscious thoughts of people, but their very basic instincts, where children of 4 join not the "cubs" but the "spies," where love is punishable by death, since all loyalty must be reserved to the Party, where "telescreens" watch every movement and facial expression day and night not only in homes but in streets and even country lanes, where war has been perpetuated in order to destroy goods and keep the population at once at constant pitch of frenzy and in a constant state of misery and subjection.

Credibility of the demoniac details, tremendous inventiveness, a compact and powerful language make *Nineteen Eighty-Four* an admirable work. It becomes an exceptional intellectual *tour de force* when it succeeds in drawing the last consequences from an available promise, when it arrives at ultimate conclusions from scattered evidence. All the devices of terror, regimentation, forgery, lying, mass murder, all the ignominy ever practiced by tyrannies and dictatorships are brought in Orwell's Oceania to a final perfection. By contrast to Oceania, Hell is a human place, where people keep the consciousness of their own sins and virtues and suffer for and through them. In Oceania the final aim of the government is to break man's last tie to his own life: his identity not only with his conscious thoughts, but with his own subconscious strivings, with the forces of nature operating in his mind, body and soul.

All this comes about because the small inner circle of the Party is bent on practicing power for the sake of power. The Party has rejected the old-fashioned concept that the world must become a better place. Its rulers measure life in terms of their power over the rest of the world. And power means pain: one man asserts his power over another by making him suffer. Obedience is not enough. Unless the man is suffering how can you be sure that he is obeying your will and not his own?

And so the great principle moving life in Oceania becomes the will to inflict pain, to cause starvation, to spread stupidity and humiliation. These acts furnish the ultimate proof that the inner ones of the Party and their chief, Big Brother, *do* possess unlimited power and will go on possessing it until the sun becomes extinct and the earth uninhabitable.

To alleviate the feeling of horror this novel provokes, the reader may, of course, reflect that nothing like Oceania is ever likely to happen to mankind and that just as the atom bomb adds to our determination to prevent war, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* may add to our determination to avoid the monstrosity of Oceania. There is, however, another comment to be made which seems pertinent.

That is that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* sins by its greatest virtue: the very power of the intellect behind every line. In this bitter age, reared on cruelty and inhumanity, a final summing up of our decadence has perhaps been an inevitable gesture. But our greatest need is for another kind of work of art, based on a recognition of the positive forces of life and nature, on the triumphant demonstration of the incorruptibility of the *élan vital,* on a joyful and inevitable belief in the ultimate triumph of light—even against all evidence.

Kinfolk

by Pearl S. Buck. New York, The John Day Co. $3.50.

Reviewed by Mrs. Owen Lattimore

Ever since she wrote *The Good Earth,* Pearl Buck's novels about Chinese people have been welcomed eagerly by a very large number of readers. I heard it reported not long ago that when someone asked Pearl Buck why it was that hers were the only books about China which sold well, she replied that she did not write books about China but about people. *Kinfolk* is a novel about people, and the fact that most of them happen to be Chinese people does not make it a book about China, although the parts of the story with a Chinese setting, Peking and a small village in Nationalist China after the war, will surely give many readers a clearer understanding of the "situation" in China today.

The kinfolk referred to in the title are the family of Dr. Liang, an expatriate Chinese scholar, brought up in New York, and their relatives who form the household of a typical Chinese landlord, the fat and crotchety Uncle Tao. The two groups, almost completely alien to each other, seem equally true to life.

The fact that James and Mary, the two elder children of Dr. Liang, are drawn back to their ancestral village is not presented as an argument that blood is thicker than water, but rather as their attempt to seek something real and good and useful as a natural reaction to the artificiality

of their life in New York, and particularly to their selfish, pompous humbug of a father, pretentious and pretending. "Liang was always pretending," his honest earthy wife told herself. It was the real China of their mother which these two sought, rather than the Confucian idyll concocted by their father for the delectation of American clubwomen.

American young people in China might easily long to serve a Chinese village as the Liangs did but they could never do so. It was only the fact that in China blood really is thicker than water that made Uncle Tao allow anything so alien as his young kinfolk, James and Mary, to invade his village.

The real gap portrayed in the book is not between Chinese and Americans. The other two children, Peter and Louise, were more American than Chinese in spite of their blood. The real gap was between the peasant and the intellectual, and between the old and the new. Mrs. Liang, the mother, was the only real link between the two worlds, and therefore the character in the book which gives us the most hope.

Yearbook on Human Rights for 1947

Lake Success, United Nations. $6.00

This important volume is the second book in a series which the Secretariat of the UN is putting out on the original request of the Commission on Human Rights, a request endorsed and activated by the Economic and Social Council.

The first volume, published last August, was a pioneering effort in all respects. Among other material, it printed for the first time a full collection of the constitutional provisions of all the countries in the world concerning human rights in force on December 31, 1946.

Following a directive of the Commission, the Yearbook for 1947 differs in a number of respects from its predecessor. It is divided into three sections: National Laws; International Treaties and Agreements; The UN and Human Rights.

The first part includes the constitutional provisions and legislative texts on human rights enacted in the various countries during 1947, as well as statements on the status of human rights in India and the Union of South Africa.

The second part reproduces the texts relevant to human rights in international compacts, such as the Treaties of Peace with Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy and Romania, as well as of various Trusteeship Agreements.

The third part is a completely new feature. Its various chapters deal respectively with the Human Rights under the Charter of the UN, the various UN organs which are concerned with human rights, and finally with summarizing the UN activities concerning human rights up to the end of 1947.

There are those who believe that UN activities on behalf of human rights are second in importance only to the maintenance of peace. For them, particularly, but also for anyone interested in the dignity of man, the Yearbook is a unique source of information. Achievements like these are the foundations upon which the indispensability of the UN is being slowly built.

T. K.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE

BUDAPEST. The influence of political changes on publishing emerges strikingly from the facts and figures of Hungarian book publishing. In 1938 the number of titles published was barely over 3,000. In 1948 this number increased to 6,350. In 1938 books dealing with social science comprised 15% of all books published. In 1948 this category amounted to 26%. In 1939 translations from Russian constituted only 2% of all translated work. By 1948 this figure leaped to 40%.

FLORENCE. Professor Mario Toscano's book *Le Origini del Patto d'Acciaio*—"The Origin of the Pact of Steel"—recently published by Sansoni, is a complete and authoritative story of the military pact between Mussolini and Hitler. Professor Toscano is the Historical Adviser of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has had access to all relevant diplomatic material, published and unpublished.

MILAN. The lovers of Italy and of the cities of Italy will be delighted by the new novel of Giuseppe Marotta: *A Milano non fa freddo*—"It Isn't Cold in Milan," published by Bompiani. It is a rich and poetic work whose real hero is the capital of Lombardy seen through the irony, the warmth and the nostalgia of a Southerner, a Neapolitan.

STOCKHOLM. *Hedvig Eleonora* by Ninna Lundh-Erikkson (Wahlstrom, Widstrand) is an exceptionally arresting biography of a great and little known Queen. She was the wife of Charles X, whom she outlived by many years, as she did her son, Charles XI, dying in 1715 at the age of 79 during the reign of her grandson, Charles XII. During her long life Queen Hedvig witnessed one of the most exciting periods in the history of Sweden. Ninna Lundh-Erikkson's biography does full justice to a noble monarch whose love and understanding of beauty remains one of her titles to fame.

PARIS. France celebrates the 150th anniversary of the birth of Honoré de Balzac. On this occasion literary statisticians estimate that the number of works dealing with the life and the art of the great novelist have reached the extraordinary total of 5,000. On this occasion, also, the quotations from Balzac fill the columns of French newspapers and magazines. Here are three on the subject of stylishness:

"A man becomes rich but he is born elegant." "Everything revealing thrift is inelegant." "No one who doesn't come to Paris often can be really elegant."

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Between the Last and the Next Gathering of the Diplomats

An Editorial

Now that the danger of immediate war has receded, and that the Paris Foreign Ministers' Conference has put back into operation the machinery of East-West consultations—a few moments may be taken out to reflect upon some of the more heartening signs of the times.

The fascinating feature of the present international situation lies in the fact that at last war is no longer accepted as the way out for solving an international crisis.

At no other period in history could hostile troops have confronted each other within the boundaries of the same city, as did the Eastern and Western forces in Berlin, without provoking "incidents" leading eventually to war. For years the propaganda machines of the Eastern and Western blocs were pumping into their respective soldiers and officers the idea that the opponent was the embodiment of all evil. And yet, only a few stray shots were fired.

Moreover, after the touch-and-go tension which reached its height with the year-long roar of the airlift's many thousands of planes, the very fact that the four Ministers met in conference has promptly allayed anxiety on all fronts. Guards still stand watchfully at the boundary lines, but they no longer hold a finger on the trigger.

Our generation can be proud, whatever its failings in other fields, that it has reached such a point of civilized behavior. The moment's major task is to analyze the reasons which have fostered this advance in human conduct.

The very existence of the United Nations organization, despite all its internal discords and conflicts, is in overwhelming measure responsible for this encouraging state of affairs. Increasingly, the philosophy and principles of the United Nations have taken root in the minds of men, with the result that modern statesmen are more and more determined to leave nothing undone before resorting to force. So strong is the impact of public opinion that no statesman in the world can fail to realize that, in the final analysis, this public opinion will judge him by whether he worked for peace or war.

The desire for peace has made such progress in our time that the peoples of the world would consent to wage war only if forced to face one of the three following contingencies:

1. *To resist an armed attack against one's own country;*
2. *To fulfill an international obligation;*
3. *To aid smaller nations which have been invaded.*

In the past, peoples fought for a thousand other reasons—for conquest of new lands, for the ambitions of their kings, for looting and pillaging, for procuring slaves for markets, for honors, for shibboleths and flags.

But today we are justified in thinking that civilization excludes war as a policy, except in cases where the very independence and freedom of a nation are threatened or where an aggressor is out to conquer the world.

The progress made toward peace does not exist by itself. It has been accompanied by an ever-growing awareness of the economic interdependence of mankind, as well as the need for international effort to improve standards of education and health, to guarantee fundamental human rights, and to promote not only material well-being but also the things of the mind and the spirit.

The weakness of the Paris Conference was that it did not take into account any of these new aspirations actuating the peoples of the world, and so was almost out of context with our time. It was an old-fashioned conference of four great powers bargaining over the physical resources and the dubious allegiance of Germany.

Perhaps the German problem cannot be solved by itself. Perhaps in order to solve the German question equitably, all other difficulties plaguing mankind should be discussed simultaneously. For it would then be possible to take stock of the new greatness achieved by the peoples of the world, forcing those who seek merely to preserve the brutal law of force to cope not only with diplomatic opponents but also with the far more formidable power—the majority of mankind.

The Paris Conference raises the doubt as to whether to take the peace settlements out of the hands of the United Nations was as wise a solution as it appeared to be during the war. Maybe it would have been better—and perhaps it is still not too late—to tie the settlement of World War II to all the other problems which confront the United Nations.

Maybe the most sensible course would be to transform the fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations into a genuine World Parliament in which all questions—including those which divided the Conference of Foreign Ministers—would at least be brought up for discussion by the delegates of the fifty-nine nations.

The cold peace into which we are sliding since the blockade was lifted has seen the rebirth of moral principles. The striving toward justice and the spiritual strength that dwell in almost every human being now are emerging from the chaos of our time.

Unless they are to fail their countries and themselves, the diplomats will have to measure up to the greatness of the people.